

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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## THE MILITANT

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# In Brief

**ANTI-ABORTION DRIVE . . .** : Catholic prelates, antibusing bigots, and government officials are all angling to overturn women's right to abortion.

- In Washington, D.C., on March 24, cardinals and bishops urged a congressional subcommittee to push forward on a constitutional amendment guaranteeing fetuses the "right to life."

- In Boston, anti-abortion and antibusing forces are fighting to uphold the 1975 manslaughter conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin. An all-white jury convicted the Black physician for performing an abortion. The Massachusetts Supreme Court heard Edelin's appeal on April 5.

- Solicitor General Robert Bork filed a brief with the U.S. Supreme Court on March 26 supporting the right of states to deny Medicaid funds for abortions that are not medically required. If the court upholds this policy, it will effectively prevent poor women from exercising the right to abortion recognized by the same court in 1973.

**. . . AND THE POLITICIANS:** Meanwhile, on the campaign trail, Democratic and Republican presidential hopefuls rant against abortion or dodge the issue whenever possible. Can this be explained as capitulation to a "reactionary" electorate? Cowardly, these candidates are. But the public is miles ahead of them. A recent Harris poll concludes that it is not, as the capitalist politicians claim, "politically dangerous" to support legalized abortion. In fact, Harris found that a 54 to 39 percent majority support abortion rights. This contrasts with only a 48 to 43 percent plurality four years ago.

## NEW SWP HEADQUARTERS OPENS IN EAST L.A.:

"If you want to change this society, you have to take sides, you have to stop wasting your votes. You have to be able to look at yourself and say, 'I'm going to help. I'm going to join the struggle. I'm going to be a socialist and join the Socialist Workers party.' You know you have nothing to lose and everything to gain."

Virginia Garza made this appeal to join the socialist movement at the opening of the new Socialist Workers party headquarters in the Chicano community of East Los Angeles on March 28. The rally officially launched Garza's campaign for Congress in the Twenty-fifth District of Los Angeles.

The new headquarters, at 1237 South Atlantic Boulevard, will house the Socialist Workers campaign committee, the East Los Angeles branch of the SWP and chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance, a Pathfinder Bookstore, and the Southwest Bureau of the *Militant*.

**MARCH FOR JOBS:** Twenty-five hundred people marched in Washington, D.C., April 3 demanding "Jobs for all now!" The action was called by the National Coalition to Fight Inflation and Unemployment (NCFIU), in which the Stalinist Communist party plays a major role. The demonstration garnered support from several community, church, and union groups.

A program distributed by NCFIU at the rally said that people were marching "to put the president, congress, and candidates for office on notice. . . we want some action now to solve this crisis—not empty election year promises."

The central demand put forward by demonstration

speakers and organizers, however, was passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. This so-called full employment bill amounts to nothing more than an election-year promise—backed by all the major Democratic candidates—that they will do better than Ford and Nixon at running the economy so as to provide jobs. So long as doing so doesn't infringe on corporate profits, the war budget, or the "free enterprise" system, that is.

Underneath the rhetoric, the Hawkins-Humphrey bill in fact does not provide for the government to create a single job. Its sponsors acknowledge that one of the bill's main purposes is to provide a vote-catching platform for the Democrats.

The Communist party newspaper the *Daily World* reports that prominent Black Democratic Rep. John Conyers, a keynote speaker, received an enthusiastic ovation when he proposed that the demonstration send a "pink slip" to the White House telling Ford, "You are laid off as of Nov. 3."

**FREE ROY PATTERSON:** Roy Patterson, a Black marine, is fighting for justice and his future. He is locked away in a Georgia prison where he is supposed to spend the rest of his natural life. His crime was self-defense against two cops who got themselves killed when they assaulted him in the Cordele, Georgia, police station on May 4, 1975.

Patterson was at the station to inquire about the unprovoked arrest of his brother. The arresting officer, state trooper James Young, told Patterson, "Shut your damn mouth." When Patterson headed for the door to get a lawyer, Young slapped handcuffs on him and whipped out a gun. The revolver went off as Patterson struggled to point it toward the floor. Another cop jumped into the fray and was also fatally shot.

The racist hysteria surrounding Patterson's trial was typified by the Rev. George Nelson, who was invited to open the court proceedings with a prayer. The preacher had already passed judgment on the case in a sermon in which he said, "The state is nowhere told to 'turn the other cheek.' The state is told to bear the sword of vengeance."

The Southern Poverty Law Center, which played an important role in the Joanne Little defense, is seeking a new trial for Patterson. Further information can be obtained from: Southern Poverty Law Center, 1001 South Hull Street, Montgomery, Alabama 36101.

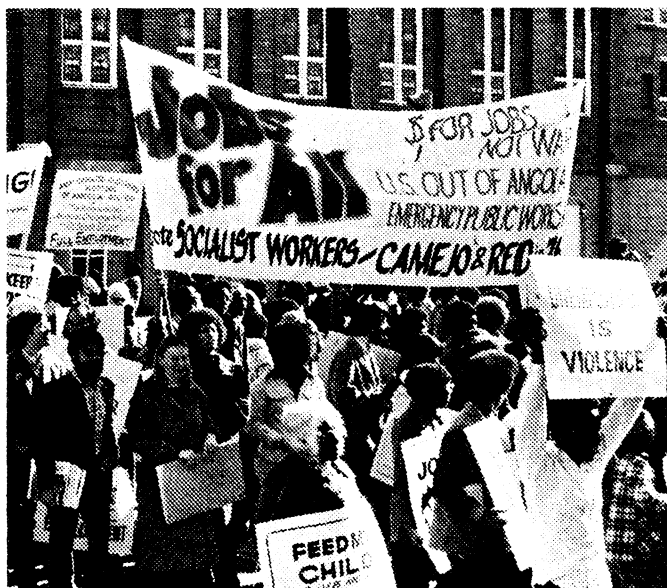
**RATS ON THE RISE:** We're matched one to one in New York City. About eight million people against eight million rats. But the battle for dominance in this center of world finance and culture could tip dramatically in favor of the rats. The federal government is considering a cutback of \$500,000 in aid to New York's pest-control program, which would reduce the exterminator staff by 57 percent.

The results would be devastating in those areas of the city where poverty is enforced by unemployment, slumlords, and segregated schools. Already in 1,900 blocks of depressed ghetto areas rats may outnumber people twenty-five to one, according to health department estimates. And in just a year, each female rat can breed up to fifty-four of its disease-carrying progeny.

Is Congress concerned about this crisis for millions of New Yorkers? Probably not. The only rats on Capitol Hill are the ones who can vote to provide the funds.

—Ginny Hildebrand

# Our Party Is Your Party Too!



IF YOU AGREE with what you have been reading in the *Militant*, now is the time to join the Socialist Workers party. . . . OUR PARTY is made up of working people like you. The more who join, the better we can fight together against war, racism, sex discrimination—and for decent living and working conditions. . . . JOIN US and help us build a better world, a socialist world. Fill out the coupon below and mail it today.

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.
- ☐ Please send more information.
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SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

# Join The Socialist Workers Party

## How to fight back

# S.F. labor faces union-busting drive

By Nat Weinstein

SAN FRANCISCO, April 13—The official leaders of San Francisco labor, including representatives of striking building-trades unions, have shifted from threats of a general strike to pleas for federal mediation.

Nineteen hundred crafts workers employed by the city—plumbers, laborers, electricians, carpenters, and others—have been on strike since March 31 against an attempt by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to cut their wages by a total of \$5.7 million.

John Crowley, head of the San Francisco Labor Council, and six other members of the unions' negotiating committee dispatched a telegram April 11 to Secretary of Labor W.J. Usery in Washington.

"Seventeen craft unions are hopelessly deadlocked in negotiations with the city and county of San Francisco," they said, "while thousands of workers are on the picket lines since March 31 and many thousands are respecting the strike. The strike is escalating daily. All remedies to a solution have been exhausted.

"We strongly urge you as secretary of labor to act as mediator immediately to settle the deadlock to a final conclusion."

### 'Next day' never came

Ever since the strike began, union officials have issued a steady stream of announcements that "the next day" the docks, airport, and Bay Area Rapid Transit would be closed down. The telegram to Usery follows the persistent failure of the strike leaders to make good on these pledges of a more effective walkout.

The board of supervisors, maintaining its implacable refusal to negotiate, has rejected an "outside mediator." Confident that its union-busting attack is gaining momentum, the board has offered to let San Francisco voters choose between its wage-cut package and any package striking unions might offer.

This psychological warfare maneuver—referring the dispute to the voters as a "court of last resort" in the June elections—includes the requirement that the unions call off their

strike now.

This latest ploy is consistent with the board's effective media campaign to portray the strike as a struggle between "callous, cigar-smoking labor bosses" and the suffering mass of taxpayers who are the victims of unreasonable demands.

### 'Back to work' fiasco

The shutdown of the city-owned surface transit system (Muni) in support of the building-trades strikers continues in full force. A back-to-work campaign in the media, which had Democratic Mayor George Moscone shedding sham tears over the "abused" Muni drivers' "loss of millions in wages," ended in failure last week.

At an emergency meeting April 7, 500 Muni drivers shouted their near-unanimous approval for continued support to the strike. Larry Martin, president of Transit Workers Union Local 250-A, called on Muni drivers to begin massive picketing in support of the strike.

Although this proposal was enthusiastically welcomed by the bus drivers, no concrete measures were taken to mobilize and organize such activity. Organization of a strike-support committee, proposed by rank-and-file drivers, was ignored by the TWU leaders.

The next day scores of drivers spontaneously responded to the picketing call. They could have been the nucleus of a rank-and-file organizing committee to bring more of their sister and brother bus drivers into active participation.

The action by bus drivers could in turn have been the beginning of a campaign to bring all concerned San Francisco unionists together into an effective fighting machine that could win this strike.

But even the militant TWU membership could not mobilize such an effort without conscious planning and organization by their leaders.

Related developments underscore the grave position of striking city workers. Early Monday morning, April 12, the Golden Gate transit district's 300 bus drivers were also forced out on strike.

This is a publicly owned transit system that normally carries 36,000



City-employed building-trades workers are on strike against \$5.7 million wage cut

commuters daily from Marin and Sonoma counties to and from San Francisco.

H. Donald White, management spokesperson, said the district's negotiating committee met with Local 1225 of the Amalgamated Transit Union for "about five minutes" on April 10.

"The union offered to submit the issues to arbitration, but that was rejected," White said. "We have been gearing up for a strike," he ominously noted.

The union contends that use of nonunion "club bus" drivers is the issue provoking the strike.

### United response needed

This development is the latest in a series of employer-provoked escalations of the strike. Confident that there is no united front or even a serious

coordination of efforts by the striking unions, the employing class is striving to make the most of what they judge as an impending defeat of the San Francisco union movement.

Even at this late date it is still possible to stave off such a setback. The San Francisco labor organizations should call an emergency mass meeting of all concerned unions to consider the gravity of the situation and to hear proposals for action to reassemble labor's faltering ranks.

A single modest escalation of strike pressure—such as closing down the airport—is possible, practical, and necessary. Even a one-day mass mobilization on a Saturday, when support could be mustered from nonstriking workers as well, would go a long way toward reversing the tide of battle.

## Lessons of city strike

# Labor needs its own political party

SAN FRANCISCO—The battle of city workers here against wage cuts and union busting has put the spotlight on the question of labor political action.

The lack of their own independent political voice, their own political instrument, cripples the city's unions in answering this political attack by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

Of the eleven members of the board—all solidly arrayed against the unions—nine have been labor-endorsed candidates.

Democratic Mayor George Moscone, who was elected last November only because of labor support, also plays a thinly disguised antilabor role.

His voice is heard each day on television and radio twisting and distorting the facts of disputed issues to the clear disadvantage of striking workers.

He makes repeated demands for strikers to return to work on the union-

busting terms of the board of supervisors.

Moscone's hypocrisy descends to unplumbed depths in his "concern" for Muni bus drivers, who, he alleges, "have been used repeatedly" by other striking city employees and have lost "many millions of dollars in wages over beefs which are not their own."

With rare cynicism this capitalist-party politician proposed a "three-day strike moratorium" to Muni drivers so that San Francisco baseball fans could attend the Giants' opening series at Candlestick Park.

The lesson is clear. The policy of supporting so-called friends of labor in either capitalist party—Democrat or Republican—is bankrupt.

A striking cement mason faced with a \$4,400-a-year pay cut put it this way to a reporter: "The town isn't antiunion," he said, "but the politicians are."

He's right. And it's time to put in office people who will represent the majority, the workers.

Think of what an independent working-class party based on the unions could do.

It could unite the entire labor movement and its potential allies, the Black and Chicano communities, in their common class interest. It could also draw support and participation from students. Even professional and small business people could be rallied on the side of labor in the fight against the downtown corporations and banks that the present mayor and board of supervisors really represent.

These profit-hungry outfits, having engineered a tax structure that exempts them from major responsibility while soaking workers and small property owners, are now using the threat of even higher taxes to turn the working-class taxpayers against city employees.

"Either pay high taxes," cry the political mouthpieces of the tax-dodging corporations and banks, "or accept cuts in your living standards

and social services."

Through a labor party the voice of the workers would thunder back, "Cut profits, not living standards! Tax the rich, not the poor!"

Independent labor political action starting here in San Francisco would be a beacon for workers across the country. It could help inspire formation of a labor party on a national scale that would fight to reverse priorities in Washington, taking the billions now squandered on armaments and using them for jobs and services.

A labor party would unite all workers against racial and sexual oppression and economic exploitation.

A labor party based on a program defending the interests of the most oppressed sectors of our class is the only way today to carry forward the fundamental principles inscribed on the banner of the labor movement: An injury to one is an injury to all!

—N.W.



# Boston racists threaten new terror

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—South Boston and Charlestown racists have launched a hysteria campaign designed to mobilize their foot soldiers in a drive against "armed Blacks."

The campaign is their answer to the widespread outrage at the mob beating of Black attorney Theodore Landsmark at City Hall Plaza April 5.

On April 8, 125 racists cheered Dennis McLaughlin, leader of the newly formed Charlestown Marshals Association, as he promised that his hooligan brigade would "fight by any means necessary to protect our community" against Blacks, who he charged "are arming themselves."

McLaughlin was demagogically referring to statements made by Black leaders at a news conference the day after the assault on Landsmark. State Sen. William Owens had called for "federal protection." Short of that, he had said, "we must protect ourselves."

Enraged by the lack of police protection, Black leader Rev. Rafe Taylor had asked if it was not time for the Black community to consider arming itself in self-defense.

Statements such as these, referring to the right of Blacks to defend themselves against night riders and antibusing, anti-Black terrorists, have outraged the racists. On April 9 the South Boston Marshals announced the formation of a "community patrol" of 100 "marshals" that would roam the area in twenty-five cars.

Chief thug Warren Zaniboni said that "threats on our community" prompted the inauguration of the white vigilante squads. The Charlestown bigots set similar patrols in motion April 12.

"Sometimes we'll just park in Andrew Square or by the Broadway Bridge and keep an eye on who's coming into Southie," one vigilante said.

Activists in the Black community report that carloads of racists have driven through Roxbury—on Columbia Road and Seaver Street, two main thoroughfares—hurling rocks and smashing out car and store windows. Such incidents have not yet been reported by Boston's newspapers.

The cops have dragged their feet in apprehending the criminals who beat Landsmark outside city hall. So far they have arrested only four of the nearly fifty who chased and pummeled the Black man.

Leaders of ROAR, the main antibusing group, have thrown their support to the arrested hooligans. At a news conference April 7, South Boston ROAR leader James Kelly termed the "outrage over the incident more deplorable than the act itself." Kelly then blasted "Black crime" as the real issue in Boston.

"If I was an eighteen-year-old student, I'd do the same thing," he said, referring to the beating of Landsmark.

When a *Boston Globe* reporter asked if that meant sticking a flagpole into someone's face, a South Boston Marshal snarled, "I'd like to stick it in your face!"

In Washington, a top official of the Justice Department said April 6 that the Landsmark beating was "not part of a pattern of violence."

J. Stanley Pottinger, assistant attorney general and chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, said that the "incident is serious, but I don't think we need to fall off our



Militant/Anne Teesdale

South Boston Marshals on steps of South Boston High School last February. Now, racists have set up vigilante squads to keep Blacks out of white neighborhoods.

collective chair and say the entire two-year effort at desegregation has failed."

He said that the FBI would investigate anyway.

Asked if the attack might have been spurred by the declining presence of federal marshals and officials in Boston, Pottinger said "the state and local police have shown an ability to deal with the police-type functions."

On the same day that Pottinger expressed his confidence in Boston cops, four thugs beat a Black man in broad daylight, in the middle of rush hour on the Boston Common.

Municipal Judge A. Frank Foster watched in horror from his car. "When I saw this, and then saw this Black man's face splattered with blood, I did all I could think of to draw attention and possible police attention," Foster later said.

Honking his horn, Foster drove through a red light, blocking the escape of the attackers. He cornered them, gaining the attention of a traffic cop, who refused to arrest them because he hadn't "witnessed the crime," Foster said.

Arrest warrants were later issued.

Edward Soars, the victim of the gang beating, said the racists had come at him and his cousin with a crowbar and a knife.

Meanwhile, legal challenges to court-ordered desegregation continue unabated. On April 9 Mayor Kevin White and the Boston School Committee filed separate appeals with the U.S. Supreme Court in an effort to overturn Federal District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity's busing order.

The school committee's legal brief is a flat-out opposition to Garrity's plan, while White's appeal contends the judge "overstepped his powers" in ordering "massive city-wide busing" to end school segregation.

The mayor calls for a return to a token busing plan that Garrity rejected in favor of the more sweeping desegregation order.

White's appeal has already won pledges for in-court support from antibusing mayors in Cleveland and Wilmington, Delaware, where legal challenges filed by Black parents may result in desegregation orders.

On April 12, the Boston Home and School Association filed a third appeal with the Supreme Court, using the "white flight" argument against Garrity's order.

## 'Officials must enforce the law'

BOSTON—"I was just out there walking to city hall in my three-piece suit," Theodore Landsmark said. "I was anyone."

Landsmark, a Black attorney, was describing his experience of April 5 when part of a mob of 200 white high school students surrounded him as he was about to enter city hall for a meeting. He was seized and beaten, amid shouts of "Get the nigger, kill him!" He was speared in the face with a steel pole fluttering an American flag.

His face swollen and bandaged, Landsmark told an April 7 new conference that he would wage a personal campaign "to see that all those responsible for the violence are fully prosecuted."

"I intend to take such legal actions as are necessary against certain members of the Boston City Council and Boston School Committee," he said, "to insure that Boston City Hall can no longer be used as a sanctuary for racism and a resource center for those

who would incite and encourage racist violence."

Two obvious such city officials would be city council President Louise Day Hicks and school committee member Elvira "Pixie" Palladino. Immediately before the attack on Landsmark, the students—who were boycotting school to protest busing—had visited Hicks in city hall. Both she and Palladino had offered them encouragement.

"Racism is the cause of the incident," Landsmark said, "and it has been fueled by selfish political leaders unable and unwilling to address themselves to the problems of Boston."

"Federal, state, and local officials must act to enforce all of the law. By that I mean not just the law with respect to safety, but all the body of civil rights and affirmative-action law which affects programs in this city."

Despite the attack, Landsmark refuses to be cowed. "I'm not going to stay off the streets, and I don't think any other Black person should. The



LANDSMARK: 'I was just anybody'

streets are as much mine as they are anybody else's. And I intend to keep using them."

—J.H.

## Pasadena Blacks target of death threats

By Joanne Tortorici

PASADENA, Calif.—"Blood will flow in the streets if you trouble-making niggers continue to mess with our schools and board of education with this force [sic] bussing stink."

Racist opposition to Pasadena's school desegregation plan continues.

On April 8, twelve death threats, addressed by name to Black community leaders, Black clergy, and probing activists, were issued by the Nazis.

The letters were mailed to Rev. Harrison Bailey, a Black minister who has been vocally in favor of school desegregation here.

This is not Reverend Bailey's first encounter with the local fascists.

Last year, members of the Nazi party abducted Bailey, drugged him, and took him to a nearby park. There

they "strung him up" in a tree by the shoulders, as a mock lynching.

The death message recently sent to Bailey states, "The next bomb under your house will be set to go off pronto. This may be your last warning."

All the messages were signed "Unit Seven, N.S."

"N.S." stands for "Nazi Sympathizers," the "underground" section of the Nazi party. The same group sent a series of threats last year to Pasadena Black leaders.

The threats come on the heels of an NAACP assembly March 28 backing Pasadena's desegregation plan, and two weeks before a planned April 24 rally here in support of school desegregation.

Several NAACP members and or-

ganizers of the April 24 action are targeted in the messages sent to Reverend Bailey.

The Nazi thugs recently directed their violence against Pasadena socialists, too. On February 25, the evening of the new Socialist Workers campaign headquarters open house, men later identified by police as Nazis were spotted taking down license plate numbers of cars parked nearby for the program.

The next night, rifle bullets were shot through the headquarters windows.

Then on March 13, the Nazi party staged a picket line in front of the campaign office and attacked Manuel Barrera, a socialist campaign supporter.



# Black papers report plans for action

A number of Black newspapers around the nation have devoted stories and columns to the April 24 march on Boston.

In its "Comment" section, the April 3 *Black Panther* ran major excerpts of the call for the national demonstration. Under the headline "March Against Boston Racism, April 24," the excerpts included:

"What is needed today in Boston is a movement, a counter-mobilization of the Black community and its supporters for school desegregation, busing and against racism. . . .

"Boston is where racists and other reactionary forces nationwide get inspiration to advance their own attacks against Black rights. We have to point the way for the national Black community. A failure to win school desegregation here will encourage further attacks on Black rights in other cities."

Dr. Nathan Wright, Jr., began his April 11 column in the *Newark Star Ledger* by noting that the April 24 rally "deserves at least respectful attention."

He concluded: "Thoughtful, liberty-loving Americans should support the march on Boston."

New York City's *Amsterdam News* reported April 10, "Sponsors of the April 24 march say the situation in Boston is a national emergency." The story quoted march supporters, including Rexford Weng, who told the *News*, "The racists are in a minority but their violent tactics have intimidated supporters of Black rights into silence. The April 24 march and rally are designed to turn that situation around."

And the *Philadelphia Tribune* interviewed National Student Coalition Against Racism spokesperson Hattie McCutcheon in an article published April 10. Giving the local address of SCAR for those interested in going to Boston, the article ended with a quote from McCutcheon:

"The lives and rights of all Black people are at stake here. This march on April 24 is certainly not a panacea, but it's a big first step."



McCutcheon: 'Lives and rights of all Black people are at stake.'

# March on Boston April 24!

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Organizers of the April 24 march on Boston have released an impressive list of Black community and labor leaders who have accepted invitations to speak at the prodesegregation rally.

They include longtime Boston Black leader Ruth Batson; Tom Turner, president, Metropolitan Council of the Detroit AFL-CIO; Elsie Franklin, co-chairperson, Black Caucus of the Boston Teachers Union; Rep. Mary Goode, chairperson, Massachusetts Legislative Black Caucus; and Joe Madison, executive secretary, Detroit NAACP.

The march will assemble at 10:00 a.m. at Franklin Park, at the intersection of Columbia Road and Blue Hill Avenue in Roxbury. It will proceed through the Black community into downtown Boston for a 3:00 p.m. rally at City Hall Plaza.

Activists working with the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston have

already distributed 140,000 leaflets and 5,000 posters.

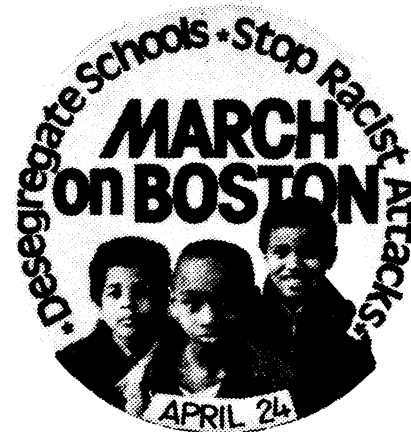
The National Student Coalition Against Racism, a principal supporter of the April 24 march, recently printed 20,000 copies of the *Student Mobilizer* to supply its seventy chapters across the country with more material to build the demonstration.

NSCAR plans to hold a national steering committee meeting from 6:00 to 8:00 p.m. after the rally on April 24.

The April 24 coalition will hold its April 19 Monday-night meeting, the last before the march, in city hall chambers.

"This will not be an ordinary business meeting of the coalition," said Maceo Dixon, the project coordinator of the march. "It is a protest meeting, a rally against the city hall racists, a public statement in support of school desegregation that will say that council chambers are not the bigots' turf."

"We are going to say that there must not be any more Ted Landsmark incidents, that Black people have the



right to walk the streets of Boston in safety."

The decision to grant the coalition the use of city hall chambers, long the meeting place of ROAR, received widespread news coverage here.

An April 12 coalition meeting attended by more than sixty people voted unanimously to demand police protection for the upcoming meeting, along with setting up monitoring teams to ensure its orderly character.

"We aren't expecting any trouble," Dixon said, "but we know the racists think the chambers belong to them. We want the police there to keep them away if they do show up."

"And we want to make it crystal clear that our meeting is about the business of building a prodesegregation movement and the April 24 march on an orderly, legal, peaceful basis."

In other parts of the country, activists are organizing to bring supporters of Black rights to Boston.

The Louisville Student Coalition Against Racism has joined forces with the probusing group called Progress In Education to publicize April 24.

Ninety people attended a Baltimore symposium on the fight in Boston and the defense of Black colleges in Maryland April 6. The meeting was sponsored by the Morgan State University SCAR. Speakers included Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-Md.) and Baltimore NAACP executive board member Hugh Daniels.

April 24 march organizers, marshals, and funds are urgently needed. For more information, contact the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston, 1530A Tremont Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts 02120. Telephone: (617) 445-0791.

## Bond: 'Must be public outcry'

BOSTON—The offensive against busing demands a response, which for Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond means "the need for a public display of mass strength."

"That is why people should march on April 24," Bond told the *Militant* April 8.

The only difference between Boston's bigots and the Jim Crow racists of the South, he said, "is that today they try to be more sophisticated. They use code words, not the racial slurs."

Bond was an early supporter of the April 24 march on Boston. "Street actions should be part of an ongoing educational campaign with forums, teach-ins, and speeches that can explain the issues," Bond said.

"In other cities people may fight each other, but here, it keeps happening. It has been going for two years. It must be planned and deliberate."

The racism of the antibusing movement is all the more ominous, Bond said, because of the economic crisis that "eats away at the gains we have made. The cutbacks hit hardest on Black people, on those



JULIAN BOND

who can least afford them.

"The antibusing movement is frightening. But what is more frightening is its possibility of victory."

"We have to educate, agitate, and organize," the veteran civil rights leader said. "There should be a public outcry about the Boston situation."

—J.H.

## NSCAR leader tours Chicago

By Cecil Lamont and Clemens Bak

CHICAGO—Rev. Willie Barrow announced to the April 10 Operation PUSH meeting of 700 here that she had accepted an invitation to speak at the April 24 rally in Boston. And, she said, Operation PUSH will be sending a bus to the prodesegregation march.

Barrow is the group's program and project director, and her remarks followed those of Hattie McCutcheon, who was on tour in Chicago for the National Student Coalition Against Racism. McCutcheon gave the Saturday-morning crowd a firsthand account of the racist violence in Boston, and urged participation in the April 24 action.

The Thursday before, McCutcheon had spoken before an education workshop of PUSH, attended by forty students, parents, and teachers.

At one point during the meeting, PUSH activist Ara Saunders exclaimed, "I'm going to Boston. I'm going to give money. We've got to help get people to Boston!"

At the end of the meeting, the small

group contributed more than fifty dollars to aid the Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism in building participation in April 24.

This was typical of the response McCutcheon received as she spoke throughout Chicago, urging support for the national march. Students from four of the campuses she visited are sending contingents to Boston.

At Governors State University in Chicago, McCutcheon addressed a meeting of 150 students and community activists who were protesting administration attempts to rid the campus of its Black studies department.

At the predominantly Black Chicago State University, where the student government is signing up people to go to Boston, McCutcheon met with the school's president. He endorsed April 24 and pledged his help in providing transportation for Chicago State students who want to participate.

McCutcheon's tour here coincided with a growing controversy over Chicago desegregation. On March 31, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare rejected the latest plan for faculty integration submitted by the

Chicago Board of Education.

HEW has the power to cut off some \$150 million in federal aid to Chicago's public schools unless the city agrees to increased teacher integration and bilingual programs.

On April 8, Illinois School Supt. Joseph Cronin officially placed Chicago and two suburban school districts on probation. If the schools do not come up with an acceptable plan for student desegregation by the end of one year, all state and federal funds could be cut off.

At a news conference the next day, Mayor Richard Daley attacked the state board and HEW for "meddling in city affairs." He said that "integration is just a word" and that he is for "quality education."

It's understandable why the mayor dismisses "integration," with federal statistics showing that Chicago schools are 99.8 percent segregated. As for "quality education," graduating students from this city's public schools—overwhelmingly Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican—collectively have among the lowest reading and math scores in the nation.

# Mass action can turn back racists

By Steve Clark

*Militant* reader Sara Wills raises an issue that is being widely discussed in the Black liberation movement today.

During this spring's presidential primaries, there has been no letup in the anti-Black violence that has been whipped up in recent years by racist organizations such as Boston's ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights).

The most dramatic example is the lynch-mob attack on Black attorney Theodore Landsmark in Boston earlier this month. This assault has been followed up by random attacks on other Blacks in downtown Boston.

School buses have also been vandalized in Boston and Louisville recently. Black families living in predominantly white areas of both cities have been terrorized. And unruly racist mobs have broken up meetings of probusing parents and staged sizable—and often violent—demonstrations.

### Politicians buckle

All the Democratic and Republican contenders have buckled under to this reactionary onslaught. Most have even added their voices to the antibusing outcry.

Alabama Gov. George Wallace, in fact, complains that many of his positions from past elections have become "mainstream" among Democratic party politicians this year, cutting into his traditional constituency.

Faced with this situation, some supporters of Black rights have drawn conclusions similar to those of Sara Wills.

Wills contends that until November the task of sweeping Ford out of the White House should be the top priority for opponents of racism. Everything else, she says, should be subordinated to that goal.

This is not the first time that such arguments have been made. During the 1964 presidential

sions to the civil rights movement by the mid-1960s, however, and Johnson exploited this fact to corral Black voters inside the Democratic party.

Johnson's real attitude toward even his staunchest backers in the Black movement was exposed recently by findings of the Senate Watergate committee. At the 1964 Democratic party convention, the committee discovered, Johnson personally ordered the FBI to tap Martin Luther King's telephone, bug his hotel room, and record the names of all King's visitors.

This was less than a month after the declaration of the civil rights moratorium!

### Selma

After Johnson's victory in the 1964 election, gains continued to be won by Blacks. And the Democrats continued to take the credit.

But the truth is that only the speedy revival of independent civil rights activity *deserved* the credit. Shortly after the election, in early 1965, thousands of Black rights supporters gathered in Selma, Alabama, for a massive voter-registration effort and a march on Montgomery, the state capital.

The brutality of Alabama authorities toward the Selma protesters stunned the world. Two civil rights activists, Jimmie Lee Jackson and Rev. James Reeb, were murdered by racist thugs, and more than 2,000 people were arrested during demonstrations or on voter-registration lines.

When the Selma-to-Montgomery march stepped off March 7, it was attacked by state police swinging billy clubs and whips and firing round after round of tear gas into the crowd. The determination of the civil rights fighters in Selma forced Johnson only eight days later to pledge federal action to guarantee voting rights for Blacks.

Martin Luther King, in spite of his adherence to the dead-end strategy of tying Blacks to the Democratic party, painted the true picture of how

## A reader's opinion

Your coverage of the busing issue in Boston has been both top-notch and courageous. But your support for a march here April 24 is putting the cart before the horse in this election year.

The top priority for civil rights supporters right now is to defeat Ford, and that means—and I know the *Militant* disagrees with this, too—electing a Democrat. I have my preferences, but almost any Democrat would do, except for George Wallace, of course.

Busing is still an extremely divisive issue, and it frankly will be a millstone around the neck of any candidate who is seriously trying to get elected this year, like it or not. So, for my part, I'm going to throw my energies into getting rid of Ford right now, and then we can all get back to making civil rights in this country a reality under an administration that is at least somewhat sympathetic to Black people.

Sara Wills

Roxbury, Massachusetts

to ignore this sorry record and to endanger the only methods that had worked in winning Black rights. Clifton DeBerry, the Socialist Workers party's 1964 presidential candidate, warned at the time:

"This [moratorium] is the surest way . . . to get nothing. If Johnson feels the civil rights vote is in his pocket, he'll move way to the right to accommodate the racists. Black people must develop independent political force. That's the only way they can be a power and the only way they can defend themselves against the attacks of the racists which will come whether Johnson or Goldwater is elected."

DeBerry's warning has stood the test of twelve years. The Democrats today, feeling that they have the Black vote all wrapped up, are catering more and more openly to racist attitudes. Around the country, Democratic mayors and governors are presiding over attacks on Black rights and ordering cutbacks in social programs needed by Blacks and other working people.

In Boston, the assault against busing has been spearheaded by the Democratic party-controlled school committee and city council with the tacit approval of Democratic Mayor Kevin White.

### White 'backlash'?

The fear that demonstrations such as the April 24 march in Boston will provoke a white "backlash" is misplaced. The "backlash" in Boston that began two years ago was provoked by the *lack* of mass activities in defense of desegregation at the time. This provided an opening for the revival of racist mobilizations that had been turned back in the mid-1960s.

The probusing marches of 12,000 in December 1974 and 15,000 in May 1975 slowed the racists down for awhile. They were slowed still further last September, when federal and state authorities were finally compelled to deploy police and federal marshals to ensure the peaceful opening of school.

Since that time, however, the Black movement has not mobilized another large show of strength, and police protection has been drastically scaled down. This has emboldened antibusing forces to renew, and even escalate, their campaign.

ROAR and antibusing groups in Louisville and elsewhere have called a demonstration in Washington, D.C., for April 24. Unless the Black community and its allies countermobilize, this racist drive can pick up dangerous steam no matter which party wins in November.

The call for the April 24 demonstration issued last month by prominent Black leaders in Boston summed up the stakes in the desegregation fight there. "It took ten years of struggle just to get this [desegregation] ruling!" the Black leaders said. "We marched, picketed, struck, boycotted, sat-in and otherwise protested against educational inequality. . . .

"It was this decade long struggle that forced the courts to recognize and outlaw segregation in Boston. Today we need such a powerful movement to *implement* peacefully the law of the land."



Martin Luther King and Coretta Scott King marching in 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery demonstration

election, many argued that no effort should be spared to ensure a victory by incumbent Democrat Lyndon Baines Johnson over the conservative Republican candidate Barry Goldwater.

### 1964 moratorium

At Johnson's behest, a "broad curtailment if not total moratorium" on all mass demonstrations until the elections was announced in late July of that year by prominent civil rights leaders. Among them were Martin Luther King; NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins; and Urban League Executive Director Whitney Young.

Other spokespeople for the Black movement, including Malcolm X, opposed the moratorium. They pointed out, "The only way we got this far is because of our demonstrations."

During Johnson's years as a senator, he had consistently voted against anti-lynching bills and led filibusters against civil rights legislation. American rulers had been forced to make conces-

Jim Crow was defeated in a passage from his book *Where Do We Go from Here?*

"The 1960 sit-ins desegregated lunch counters in more than 150 cities within a year," King wrote. "The 1961 Freedom Rides put an end to segregation in interstate travel. The 1956 bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, ended segregation on the buses not only of that city but in practically every city of the South. The 1963 Birmingham movement and the climactic March on Washington won passage of the most powerful civil rights law in a century. The 1965 Selma movement brought enactment of the Voting Rights Law. . . ."

### Independent political force

Democrats and Republicans alike sat on their hands for almost a decade after the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision, until the power of the Black movement forced them to take some initial steps toward ending discrimination.

The logic of the 1964 civil rights moratorium was



**On to Springfield May 16!**

# Actions build national mobilization for ERA

By Ginny Hildebrand

One hundred twenty-five women's rights supporters marched through downtown Indianapolis on April 10 chanting "ERA Yes!" They were demanding that the Indiana legislature ratify the federal Equal Rights Amendment and break the logjam that has kept the amendment four states short of final adoption for more than a year.

The demonstration also began a statewide drive to mobilize Indianans for the national ERA demonstration in neighboring Illinois on May 16.

Shoppers applauded the demonstrators as they passed by, and several joined in for the march to the statehouse. "Ratify the ERA, 200 years is enough!" demanded the lead banner painted in lavender and yellow, the colors of the suffragist movement.

## Mobe office

For more information on the May 16 Springfield mobilization and to order buttons and other materials contact: National Rally for Equal Rights office, 5 South Wabash, Suite 1614, Chicago, Illinois 60603. Telephone: (312) 236-4075.

Sponsors for the action included Indiana National Organization for Women; Hoosiers for the ERA; Indiana University at Indianapolis Student Coalition for the ERA; Indiana University at Bloomington Campus Committee for the ERA; *Indiana Daily Student*, the Bloomington campus paper; and United Auto Workers Community Action Project, which donated the leaflets to publicize the march.

Students from Bloomington brought ERA T-shirts to sell and dozens of placards. A sports enthusiast carried a sign reading "IU is number one in basketball, but for the ERA it's number un."

At the rally, Carol McKee, a student at IU in Indianapolis, drew a big response from the crowd as she explained the need for a massive national turnout for the May 16 demonstration in Springfield. Indianapolis NOW and the Student Coalition for the ERA are selling bus tickets and organizing car pools. Muncie NOW will also be sending buses.

Nationally, NOW is urging its chapters to recruit thousands of ERA supporters to go to Springfield. "The primary task is recruitment and all activities should be directed toward

turning out the largest possible number of people from your area," states a letter to NOW leaders from Mary Jean Collins, a member of the rally's national steering committee.

The letter outlines steps that NOW chapters can take to involve unions, student groups, and other organizations supporting the ERA. It points to the Coalition of Labor Union Women, which has endorsed the demonstration, as a good place to start building broader support.

This approach is essential for achieving the objectives of the demonstration, which the letter explains are "to focus nationwide attention on Illinois legislators who are blocking the E.R.A., to demonstrate the broad base of support for the E.R.A. and to kick off a renewed momentum of action toward final ratification."

The letter also suggests ways to involve those ERA supporters who can't go to Springfield. In particular, it urges organizing "a rally or demonstration at the departure point" as a "send-off" for those going to the march. This can involve large numbers of local ERA supporters and help to focus national attention on the Springfield mobilization.

In Atlanta, NOW and Georgians for the ERA have already set plans for a May 15 rally to send off the Springfield buses. Speakers at the event will include Sharon Hackett, president of Atlanta NOW; Tyrone Brooks, communications director of the national Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Panke Bradley, an Atlanta city council member.

ERA supporters at Georgia State University plan to generate enthusiasm



Mary Powers

for the bus trip through an April 28 debate with right-winger Phyllis Schlafly. Schlafly claims that she organizes the national anti-ERA movement out of her "kitchen" in Alton,

Illinois, not far from Springfield.

Schlafly will cross swords at Georgia State with New York NOW member Dianne Feeley, who has trounced STOP-ERA leader Meg Katz in several New York debates.

## CLUW rallies labor for ERA

DETROIT—Reactionary antiunion and anti-women's rights forces are trying to rescind Michigan's 1972 ratification of the ERA. To show labor's commitment to keep Michigan a pro-ERA state and aid the national ratification drive, the Wayne County Coalition of Labor Union Women is organizing a labor meeting entitled "Labor Defends ERA Ratification."

A broad spectrum of union officials have responded to the call for the May 11 meeting. Speakers will be Herman Coleman, executive director of the Michigan Education Association; Richard Cordtz, international vice-president of Service

Employees International Union and SEIU Local 79 president; Odessa Komer, international vice-president of the United Auto Workers; Olga Madar, national president of CLUW; Mozelle McNoriell, international vice-president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Mary Ellen Riordan, international vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers and president of the Detroit Federation of Teachers; and Tom Turner, president of Metro-Detroit AFL-CIO.

The meeting will begin at 7:30 p.m. at the UAW Local 174 hall in Detroit.

A large ERA debate at San Jose State University in California last month helped spark the formation of the Equal Rights Amendment Coalition of Santa Clara County. The coalition includes NOW chapters in Los Gatos, San Jose, Sunnyvale, and Milpitas; the Coalition of Labor Union Women; the Socialist Workers party; and others. It is planning a rally and fair on May 15 in solidarity with the national march in Springfield.

Other cities, as far away from Illinois as San Antonio and Richmond, Virginia, report plans to send buses to Springfield. In Missouri, a state that has not ratified the amendment, unionists are on a campaign to mobilize labor participation for May 16. (See *Women in Revolt*, page 11.)

# Students organize buses, caravans, bike-a-thon

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—Debates. Panels. Rallies. Car caravans. Bike-a-thons.

These are some of the activities being organized on campuses in this area to help publicize the May 16 national demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, for the Equal Rights Amendment.

When the National Organization for Women called the march, it helped to set up a Campus Task Force for the ERA in Chicago. The task force has produced a leaflet that is being distributed at area campuses.

It also plans to put out a statewide mailing to women's studies departments, feminist groups, and student governments urging them to support May 16. Task force members are also speaking at campuses to encourage groups to start publicity and transportation to Springfield.

At the University of Illinois Circle Campus, the ERA committee of the Circle Women's Liberation Union is mobilizing students. In March the

committee sponsored a debate, which 100 people attended. Seventy of them signed up to help publicize the national march.

According to ERA activist Mary Kelly, the group has reserved five buses and is raising funds to help defray the cost. Future plans include an outdoor rally and an ERA debate being sponsored by the U of I Newman Club.

At De Paul University, a private Catholic school, a new feminist group, Allegra, has begun signing up people to go to Springfield. Through the group's first efforts, Michelle Harris told the *Militant*, fifteen people agreed to go.

The Feminist Club at Northeastern University is planning to send students to the march. Nancy Katz reported that after exams and semester break, the club will blitz the campus with publicity from May 1 to May 16.

At Loop Junior College, a school with a sizable Black population in

downtown Chicago, students in a women's studies class have formed the Loop ERA Committee. Their teacher is the group's faculty adviser.

On April 13, the school's social science department is sponsoring a panel discussion on the ERA. It will feature a talk on the importance of ERA ratification for Black women.

A similar panel was held recently at Chicago State University on Chicago's South Side. A newly established ERA committee there has already reserved a van and station wagons for May 16.

ERA activist Barb Risman told the *Militant* that the feminist group at Northwestern University in Evanston is planning a women's week beginning with a speech by feminist author Kate Millett on May 9. The highlight of the week will be on May 16 when buses roll out of Evanston, headed for Springfield.

Students at Loyola University, University of Chicago, Barat College, and other Chicago-area schools are also

planning events to publicize May 16.

Organizing for May 16 is intensifying on campuses outside of Chicago as well.

At Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, the Women's Center is coordinating a car caravan to Springfield.

At the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana, six different pro-ERA groups are joining together to form one coalition to build May 16. To boost the ERA drive, Champaign-Urbana ERA supporters are organizing a bike-a-thon. Early in the morning of May 16, before many students board buses to Springfield, ERA cyclists will start an eighty-mile ride to the Illinois capital. As they pedal through towns enroute, they will pass out rally leaflets encouraging people to go to Springfield.

Students in Illinois can find out more about campus ERA activities by contacting the Campus Task Force for the ERA c/o the National Rally for Equal Rights office in Chicago.



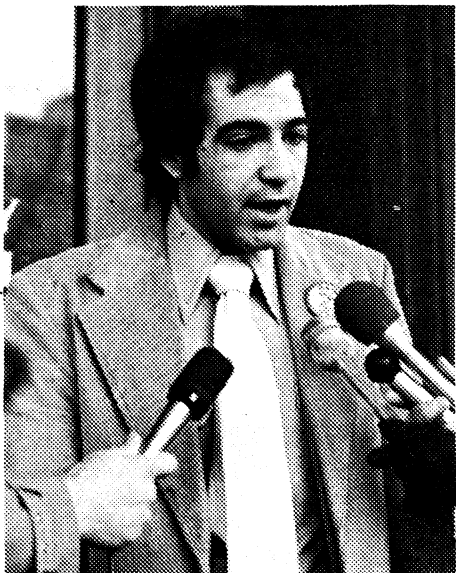
## **Black nurses suspended**

# **Ore. hospital employees protest racism**

By Judith Menschenfreund

PORTLAND, Ore.—Two Black nurses at Emanuel Hospital have been indefinitely suspended for protesting racism there.

Naomi Wrighten, registered nurse,



Socialist candidate for mayor of Portland George Kontanis pledged his support to Black Workers Committee's fight against racism.

and Wilma-Graham, licensed practical nurse, are also barred from hospital grounds. Both are members of Emanuel's Black Workers Committee, which is charging the hospital administration with discrimination against Black workers.

By suspending the nurses, the hospital administration is in flagrant disregard of the law. Both state and federal statutes make it illegal for an employer to fire, suspend, or otherwise punish a worker for opposing discrimination.

Emanuel Hospital is located in Albina, a predominantly Black community in Portland. Of the 1,600 workers employed at the hospital, only 188 are Black.

On March 8, 200 hospital workers attended a meeting with the administration to discuss demands presented by the Black Workers Committee. Those demands included:

- investigation into the maltreatment of Black patients;
- establishment of guidelines to ensure proper health care for Black patients;
- investigation of the administrator of nursing regarding her racist tactics, threats, and credibility as an adminis-

trator; and

- establishment of policies and procedures relating to advancement of Black employees.

Of special concern were conditions in the housekeeping department, where workers have reported speedups and harassment. Housekeepers are forced to clean an average of thirty rooms a day—almost double the work load of housekeepers at other Portland hospitals. One woman reported a weekend load of ninety rooms.

Roger Larson, Emanuel Hospital administrator, denied that racial discrimination was a problem. He said that a grievance board existed to handle complaints, to which Naomi Wrighten replied, "Just how slow does this grievance board work, and just who does it work for? If a white person can come in and get a job in a few days, why is it that a Black person has to go through your long route, your complex system to get what's coming to him?"

Dan McDermott, union representative of Service Employees International Union Local 49, said, "We are in a position to provide supporting evidence of what we feel might be discriminato-

ry practices on the part of Emanuel Hospital. I've been here as an agent for two and a half years and I have seen some discrimination going on. I feel that it exists."

George Kontanis, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor and a member of SEIU Local 49, attended the meeting and pledged his support to the Black Workers Committee's fight against racism.

As a result of the meeting, a fact-finding committee has been appointed to investigate the charges presented by the Black Workers Committee.

Hospital employees are printing newsletters to keep lines of communication open. In the first issue they stated, "If all of us are informed, the administration will find it difficult to shelve or distort the issues with which it is confronted."

"Demands of Blacks are encouraged to be seen as a threat to job security of whites. But the needs of Black workers are in reality no different from those of white workers; by talking together and supporting each other's struggles, we can unite and demand better conditions in this hospital for workers and patients alike."

## **'Too many' parties**

# **Mich. legislature prepares ballot purge**

By John Hawkins

DETROIT—A bill designed to block independent electoral activity on the part of labor, Blacks, and socialists has been passed by the Michigan legislature. The bill was approved overwhelmingly with strong bipartisan support.

Using the excuse that "too many" smaller parties have qualified for the ballot, the legislature set up a "primary" in August that will eliminate some or all of the smaller parties in the state from the November ballot.

The new law provides a dangerous precedent and is a serious threat to the fight for an open ballot in every state.

Several parties, including the Socialist Workers party, have already qualified for the ballot by collecting at least 18,000 signatures. Several more parties are now in the process of collecting signatures. The SWP was officially certified for the ballot last November.

However, now each of these parties must also win 0.3 percent of the vote in

the "primary." Wayne County Clerk James Killeen estimates this will be between 4,500 and 5,500 votes.

Although the percentage required appears small, the fact is that it will be very difficult for smaller parties to turn out voters in a special election in the middle of the summer. Such elections usually draw only the Democratic and Republican hard core.

The capitalist politicians who wrote the bill say it is necessary because under the old law paper ballots would be needed. They claim the voting machines currently in use cannot accommodate as many parties as will qualify. Killeen described the perils to democracy as follows:

"If Michigan voters have to use paper ballots in November, it will be chaos. . . . Some voters will have to wait hours to vote. . . . Because of the difficulty in counting the paper ballots, I would expect that a state total could not be possible before 4:00 p.m. the

Thursday following election day. . . . And, in a close election, the people of the United States would have to wait until Thursday to know the results of the presidential contest."

Paula Reimers, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, issued a statement in opposition to the legislation:

"This law is another maneuver designed to prevent working people from taking the step to independent political action."

On April 9, the Wayne County Community College Federation of Teachers, Local 2000 of the American Federation of Teachers, adopted a resolution in opposition to the law. This resolution will be submitted at the upcoming Michigan Federation of Teachers convention in late April.

The Michigan Socialist Workers party plans to challenge this unconstitutional law in the courts and has issued a call for all supporters of democratic rights to join this effort.



Militant/Darren Crown  
SWP's PAULA REIMERS: 'This law is another maneuver to stop independent political action.'

# **USLA leader completes successful tour in Fla.**

By Gene Lingau

MIAMI—Mirta Vidal, a national coordinator of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), carried out a week-long speaking tour in Florida during the first part of April.

On April 3-5, 150 people gathered in St. Petersburg for a Solidarity Conference with Third World Peoples. Participating in panel presentations were representatives of the Boston Chile Action Committee, the Atlanta Latin American Solidarity, the Miami and St. Petersburg affiliates of the U.S. Committee for Panamanian Sovereignty, USLA, and Arieto. Arieto is a group of progressive young Cubans from the Miami area.

A highlight of the conference was a talk by Vidal on "The Role of the CIA in Repression in Latin America."

The three-day event was sponsored by the St. Petersburg chapter of the Council on Human Relations, the



Militant/Marc Lee Winnig  
USLA National Coordinator Mirta Vidal

Women's Center at Eckerd College, the World Fellowship of Faiths, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Miami Center for Dialog.

On April 6 Vidal spoke to classes at the University of South Florida in Tampa, and an interview with her was videotaped for showing on the campus.

In her interview, Vidal described the psychological and physical tortures that are inflicted on women political prisoners in Latin America, referring to the appeals that USLA has received on behalf of such prisoners.

Vidal then came to Miami, where she spoke on "Torture and Repression in Chile: the U.S. Role" at meetings at Florida International University, the YWCA, and the University of Miami. Sponsors included the FIU Latin American Studies Council, USLA, the Center for Dialog, Young Socialist Alliance, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

In Miami, she was joined by Jeff

Miller, a member of USLA who has lived in Chile under the Pinochet regime and in Argentina. Miller spoke on the coup in Argentina, emphasizing that violation of human rights under the new military rulers is now becoming more institutionalized.

Miller urged the audiences to "join their voices to the thousands internationally who cry out to the Argentine military rulers to: end the right-wing terror and torture in Argentina; free all political prisoners."

Some Cuban activists who supported the meeting were prevented from participating by threats on their lives.

Right-wing Cuban elements have previously disrupted and even prevented some political meetings from taking place in this city. In that light, the fact that all of these meetings were conducted without disruptions sets an important precedent for further political activity in the Miami area.

## How to protect jobs, wages

# Issues facing Service Employees Union

By Walter Lippmann

LOS ANGELES—Delegates to the Sixteenth National Convention of the Service Employees International Union, which convenes April 19 in Honolulu, will face many issues crucial to the jobs and wages of the union's 550,000 members, and ultimately to the existence of the union itself.

The nationwide antilabor offensive now being carried out by public and private employers and their political representatives in the Democratic and Republican parties challenges the SEIU to develop policies that can defend past gains and win new ones.

Following the example of New York

*Walter Lippmann is a delegate to the SEIU convention from Social Services Union Local 535. He is active in an organizing drive among school employees in Southern California.*

City, city and state administrations from coast to coast are crying poverty and imposing austerity budgets.

In San Francisco, city officials are trying to slash the wages of city crafts workers. The outcome of the current strike in San Francisco (still in progress as this article is written) will have repercussions throughout California and the nation.

In Los Angeles, Democratic Mayor Tom Bradley has submitted a budget calling for the layoff of 250 city workers.

The Los Angeles Unified School District has announced severe cutbacks in medical and dental benefits for many of its 50,000 employees. These benefits, which now cover workers and their dependents, are slated to be eliminated for all four-hour workers. Dental coverage is to be eliminated for the six-hour staff.

Los Angeles County officials, who employ 85,000 workers, are also pleading poverty. They say they may drop out of the Social Security system, as New York has already done, leaving a dismal future for retired workers.

### 'An injury to one. . .'

In the face of efforts to divide the unions and pit one against another, the traditional slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all" is more important than ever.

In New York we have seen the tragic spectacle of unions saying, "Lay off somebody else, just so you leave us alone." This is suicidal.

When any sector of the labor movement comes under attack, it is in the best interests of all the unions to unite in defense of those under attack. A victory over any single union or group of workers only emboldens the employ-



San Francisco SEIU members on strike in 1974

Militant/Howard Petrick

er to attack others.

To conduct an effective defense of every job and of needed social services, the unions will have to begin to question the political policies that have led to the fiscal crisis: the unfair tax structure and warped spending priorities.

Why not cut out the \$100 billion a year federal war budget and use those funds for jobs and services?

Why not call a halt to the payment of billions of dollars in tax-free interest to the banks and wealthy individuals who own government bonds?

Why not make the corporations that have enriched themselves at public expense foot the tax bill, rather than putting the greatest tax burden on workers and small homeowners?

### Discriminatory layoffs

The layoffs and cutbacks, while they are an attack on all workers, are in addition discriminatory, falling the hardest on Black, Chicano, and other minorities, and on women.

These discriminatory firings affect thousands of minority and women SEIU members, who make up a large proportion of the membership of our largest locals.

We have an additional reason to be concerned. If the employers succeed in

wiping out the gains made through affirmative-action hiring, the unions will have a hard time appealing to the Black and Chicano communities for support when we face the employers in struggle.

The labor movement has the responsibility to modify or amend seniority provisions so that layoffs cannot reduce by as much as one percentage point the proportion of jobs held by women, Blacks, Chicanos, and other victims of discrimination.

### Defense of desegregation

The racist campaign against school desegregation is another focus of the antilabor drive. As a resolution recently adopted by the executive council of the 17,000-member SEIU Local 79 in Detroit pointed out:

"George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, has noted that the forces opposed to school busing are infiltrated by if not led by the likes of the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, the Nazi party, and other right-wing extremists who are as antilabor as they are anti-Black."

It is in the best interests of the SEIU and the entire labor movement for our convention to take a strong stand in defense of busing. Such a stand, taken by a large national trade union, would

be a powerful rebuff to the racist forces. It would help educate the entire labor movement on the importance of this issue.

### Equal rights for women

Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment will be a big gain for the SEIU's thousands of female members and thereby for the union as a whole. But the ERA, just four states short of ratification, is under attack from the same right-wing and antilabor forces that oppose busing and abortion.

The SEIU can help advance the fight for equal rights by participating in public actions such as the upcoming May 16 national rally in Illinois for ERA ratification.

This action, called by the National Organization for Women, has already been endorsed by the Coalition of Labor Union Women, women's groups, unions, and community organizations around the country.

### Political action

The antilabor offensive—from Boston and New York to San Francisco and Los Angeles—makes it clear that the struggles of working people, and especially public employees, cannot be won on the picket lines alone.

These are political conflicts. They can only be won through political action.

Unfortunately, the SEIU, like the labor movement as a whole, has no political voice. We have no political representatives to fight for our interests.

The Democrats and Republicans who have won office with political and financial support from labor are the very ones now cutting wages, firing workers, and trampling on union rights. Convention delegates and SEIU activists everywhere ought to reconsider our union's past policy of supporting these "friends of labor" in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Isn't it *because* these parties are dedicated to defending corporate profits and the private-profit system that they are leading the attacks on working people?

Only a party that has no ties to the huge corporations and banks, a party based on the united power of the labor movement and directly responsible to the unions, can defend the interests of working people.

An independent labor party, with a program that puts human needs above private profit, could wage the kind of political fight we need. The experiences of SEIU locals across the country, which we will be able to discuss at this convention, are certain to highlight even more the need for such a party.

## Illinois AFSCME wins bargaining election

By Howard Salita

CHICAGO—By an overwhelming margin, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has won the right to represent 15,000 professional and paraprofessional state employees in Illinois.

AFSCME gained 84 percent of the professional vote and 91 percent of the paraprofessional vote.

These victories mean that AFSCME will represent a total of more than 42,000 state employees in negotiations.

Paul Booth, an AFSCME international representative, commented, "This impressive victory shows that public workers all over the state see the value of collective bargaining. We expect to negotiate a contract which will mean significant improvements in salaries, promotions, working conditions, and other important areas."

The latest AFSCME victories follow the negotiation of an initial contract for 14,000 state workers in the institutional unit, mainly mental health employees. This contract provides for a 4 percent wage increase with a reopener in the second year; improvements in the grievance procedure; increased promotional opportunities, especially for the lowest-paid employees; improvements in longevity-pay increases; and night-shift differentials.

AFSCME is also starting negotiations for 12,000 clerks, who won a collective bargaining election last November.

In addition to being a rebuff to management, the election is also a repudiation of the Progressive Labor party. Behind a cloak of radical verbiage, the ex-Maoist PLP sought to convince public employees to abandon

collective bargaining. They counterposed lobbying for a pay raise in the state legislature.

At the same time they launched smear attacks against a number of clerks on the negotiating committee. Their leaflets also accused the representative council of Local 2000, the largest AFSCME local in the state, of being a "well-oiled machine" of staff members, their relatives, downstate members, and "Trotskyites."

During the week before the professional and paraprofessional election, PLP also issued a multitude of leaflets proposing small, isolated work actions. These leaflets had the purpose of disrupting the drive for representation and trying to mislead people into believing that collective bargaining would not relate to working conditions.

## 'Ethnic purity'

Discriminatory housing policies in this country, consciously fostered by real estate profiteers and government agencies, trap Blacks and other minorities in deteriorating and segregated neighborhoods.

These racist practices have become headline copy in the 1976 elections as a result of Jimmy Carter's defense earlier this month of the "ethnic purity" of white neighborhoods. What do other prominent Democratic and Republican politicians have to say about Carter's outrageous remarks?

"I think it's basically been overblown," was Sen. Edward Kennedy's reaction—an opinion also voiced by presidential contender Sen. Frank Church.

Carter's fellow front-runners—Henry Jackson and Morris Udall—were a bit more eager to score points against their rival. Jackson said that Carter's words were "amazing," while Udall called them "disturbing, very disturbing."

But *not one* capitalist candidate has spoken out unambiguously for a strong national policy, backed up by the full power of the federal government, to eradicate racial discrimination—whether in housing, employment, or education.

As *Washington Post* correspondent David Broder put it, "The policy of protecting the 'character and heritage' of residential communities, as Carter later phrased it, is one which his Democratic rivals . . . have also espoused in more carefully chosen language."

The same is true of Carter's Republican rivals. President Ford said, "Ethnic heritage is a great treasure of this country and I don't think that federal action should be used to destroy that ethnic treasure."

Pandering to racism has become a hallmark of all the Democratic and Republican aspirants this year, first around the issue of busing, now around housing discrimination.

On April 24 in Boston supporters of Black rights will have a chance to repudiate this reactionary demagogy. Be there!

## Labor vs. job bias

The strong stand taken by the National Education Association against discriminatory layoffs in education (see news story on page 25) is a victory for civil rights and a step forward for the entire labor movement.

The NEA has stated clearly and simply that if the affirmative-action job gains of women and minority workers are to have any meaning, they must not be rolled back by layoffs. Seniority cannot be used as an excuse for perpetuating discrimination, keeping women and minorities the "last hired and first fired."

The NEA urges teacher union locals to take the initiative by fighting to write such "affirmative retention" language into their contracts, not waiting for the courts to call school boards to order.

The position of the NEA, and the arguments it puts forward, will aid those fighting to win other unions—and organizations such as the Coalition of Labor Union Women—to a firm position against discriminatory layoffs.

Predictably, American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker has rushed to damn the NEA for "reverse discrimination" and "scrapping seniority." Shanker's rabid opposition to affirmative action stems from his dedication to maintaining a white job-trust in the New York school system.

To the Shankerite mentality, there is nothing discriminatory about having only 12 percent minority teachers for a student population that is two-thirds Black and Puerto Rican.

Layoffs can cut that proportion down to 5 percent, as they have in New York, and still Shanker sees no discrimination. The Blacks and Puerto Ricans didn't have enough seniority, that's all.

But should one minority teacher be retained while a white with more seniority is laid off—there's discrimination! Against whites! And Shanker rallies his troops for battle. The union banner of "Solidarity Forever" is hastily hauled down and replaced by "Seniority Forever."

This assault on equal rights is a disgrace to the labor movement. Phrased in Shanker's Orwellian double-speak about "reverse discrimination," it is foul hypocrisy. It will be death for any union that thinks it can survive by pitting itself against the minority communities and workers.

The strong defense of affirmative action by the NEA, one of the largest labor organizations in the country, destroys the pretense that bureaucrats such as Shanker and George Meany speak for all labor in their defense of white job-trust unionism. It is a welcome signal that labor can and will champion the interests of the most oppressed workers.

### Argentine repression protest

In addition to the New York City demonstration against Argentine repression reported in the April 9 *Militant*, there was a meeting of forty people April 7 in Cleveland sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). The meeting was called to protest the repression and to demand no U.S. aid to the new military junta in Argentina.

Statements of solidarity were presented to the gathering by Donald Ramos, professor of history and Latin American studies at Cleveland State University; Jack Kilroy of the National Lawyers Guild; and José Labrador, professor of Spanish at CSU. A message of solidarity was also read from the Farm Labor Organizing Committee of Toledo, Ohio.

The main speaker of the evening, Margaret van Epp of the USLA, described the background of the March 24 military coup. Van Epp called on all supporters of civil liberties to mount a mass-action campaign of protest meetings, rallies, and picket lines to force the U.S. government to withdraw aid from the junta and to focus international attention on political prisoners in Argentina.

Dave Hurst  
Cleveland, Ohio

### Lebanon

Your recent reports on the uprisings of Palestinian Arabs have been excellent.

However, I have waited in vain for coverage of the equally significant Lebanese situation, especially the insidious intervention of Syria in the civil war with apparent U.S. backing.

According to the *New York Times* of April 2, one of Jordan King Hussein's senior aides advised the United States "that if the [new Syrian-imposed] cease-fire failed to hold it would be important for Syria to intervene because only Syria could prevent Lebanon from being overwhelmed by the leftists, who, he said, would create a dangerous situation by inviting the Communists into Lebanon."

"He contended that such a development would be more threatening to Israel's security than a brief and limited Syrian intervention to preserve the current balance of Christians and Moslems in Lebanon."

It appears that Syria, through its control of Saiqa within the resistance movement, has now taken over Lebanese ports to increase the pressure on the leftists through limiting their arms supplies.

Is it only coincidental that L. Dean Brown, special American envoy to Lebanon with Syrian blessings, was the American ambassador to Jordan during Black September 1970—or that President Assad came to power in a coup by the section of the Baath party which opposed Syria's limited intervention in support of the Palestinians during Black September?

The Lebanese civil war and Syria's role in it demand serious analysis in the *Militant*, especially in light of diplomatic moves for a peace settlement detrimental to the Palestinians.

Ted Swedenberg  
Princeton, New Jersey

### South Dakota 'justice'

The April 9 issue of the *Militant* contained several inaccuracies in the "Dennis Banks's fight for survival" article. The article states that South Dakota's notoriously anti-Indian attorney general William Janklow, was "tried and convicted . . . of rape

[and] perjury" by the "Rosebud Sioux tribal council."

Details of the incident have been reported in several issues of the Native American newspaper *Akwesasne Notes*.

According to *Akwesasne Notes*, what was involved was not a trial by the tribal council on criminal charges, but a hearing before a tribal court on Janklow's disbarment. A motion was filed before the court in October 1974 while Janklow was running for South Dakota attorney general. The motion said he should not be allowed to practice law on the reservation because he had committed rape in 1967.

Janklow failed to appear when summoned for a hearing, and was disbarred for rape, obstruction of justice, perjury, and several other reasons. Also Chief Tribal Judge Mario Gonzalez found there was sufficient evidence to warrant a trial on rape charges, and ordered that Janklow be arrested if he ever came inside the Rosebud reservation.

Five months later—not two weeks as the *Militant* stated—the woman Janklow had been accused of raping was found dead, reportedly killed in a hit-and-run accident. She had been seen alive earlier that day in the company of an FBI agent-provocateur who had infiltrated the American Indian Movement.

Gilberto Firmat  
New York, New York

### Tape recorder implant?

I am not trying to discredit or undermine Harry Ring's story "Unraveling 'complexities' of Stalinist campaign" (*Militant*, March 26), but what the hell. Does the man have a tape recorder implant somewhere upon his person?

Is there more to carrot juice than meets the eye? Quote for quote, with pause and punctuation to boot—he gives an account of a verbal interchange between two individuals that would put the best of your present-day recorders to shame.

Call me "curious."  
Davis Kieff  
Galliano, Louisiana

[Harry Ring responds—Fiction writers often note that any resemblance between their characters and persons living or dead is purely coincidental.

[In writing occasional pieces about Max and Stanley, I have not included this traditional disclaimer. The resemblance to living persons is intended and, hopefully, not unrelated to the politics of the Communist party.

[Long years of following the convolutions of the Communist party line—not a tape recorder—make production of these "conversations" possible.]

### Truman's real legacy

I would like to call to the attention of readers who may have missed it a historical dramatization called "Truman at Potsdam," which was shown on the "Hallmark Hall of Fame" television program April 8.

Quite aside from its high artistic quality, the program was remarkable for the candor with which it presented President Harry Truman's motivation for using the atom bomb on Japan at the end of World War II.

It has long been established by the most serious historians that the bomb was not dropped in order to shorten the war. Japan was already asking for peace on precisely the same terms that were granted after the A-bombs destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki.



It was used to prevent the Soviet Union from playing a major role in the Japanese peace and to show the world, particularly the USSR, that the United States had the terrible weapon *and that it had the will to use it on human beings.*

But this has rarely been stated in the popular media within the United States. That is what is so remarkable about "Truman at Potsdam."

A high point in the dramatization is a conversation between Truman and Secretary of State James Byrnes. Truman tells Byrnes the A-bomb will be used. Byrnes suggests it might be dropped on a beach to impress the Japanese and save American lives. Truman answers that American lives are, of course, his first consideration, but that it isn't the Japanese they are concerned about impressing—it's the Russians.

Byrnes suggests dropping the bomb in the ocean. Truman replies it is necessary to understand how the Russians think. If the bomb is dropped in the ocean, they'll think the Americans haven't got the guts to use it on anything but fish. It will be dropped on Japan to show that the United States not only has it—but can use it on human enemies. For that piece of wretched power-politics two lovely cities with no military role, and some 200,000 Japanese children, women, and men, young and old, were wiped out.

To this day survivors endure uncounted sufferings from the radiation. And the whole of humanity lives under the gnawing threat of nuclear holocaust.

That is Truman's legacy.

There is at present a widespread attempt to build up Truman as a wise and lovable—if somewhat irascible—folk hero. But the more the American people learn about and understand the real legacy of this imperialist politician, the system that created him, and the blind war hysteria that allowed him, Gen. George Marshall, Winston Churchill, Clement Attlee, and the others responsible to commit this unspeakable act of terrorism, the more hope there will be for the future of the human race.

Fred Halstead  
Los Angeles, California

### Antibusing Derby disruption

In addition to a recent cross burning and bus bombings, opponents of busing here are now coordinating plans to disrupt the May 1 Kentucky Derby.

A coalition of antibusing leaders is appealing a city decision to deny them a permit to march at Churchill Downs, the site of the race. Bumper stickers have been distributed that say, "If they don't stop busing, we'll stop the Derby."

Two hundred antibusing demonstrators were turned away from Churchill Downs by police April 3. The group said it was "rehearsing" for Derby Day.

Carol Knoll  
Louisville, Kentucky

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

## Women in Revolt

Cindy Jaquith

### A working women's issue



ST. LOUIS—When the buses roll from here to Springfield, Illinois, bringing supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment to the May 16 National Rally for Equal Rights, members of Local 410, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) will be with them.

Local 410 has more than 4,500 members in St. Louis, working in mental-health hospitals and other municipal jobs. The majority of Local 410 members are Black women, the most severely affected by sex discrimination.

Because of the importance of the ERA to its members, Local 410 has established an ERA committee and turned over office space in its headquarters to the committee to build the May 16 demonstration. The union hopes to send a busload of AFSCME unionists to Springfield.

Local 410 regularly sends representatives to meetings of St. Louisians for the ERA, the coalition that is organizing support for May 16 here. On March 6, St. Louisians for the ERA sponsored a demonstration and conference in which AFSCME members participated.

A big banner reading "Ratify the ERA—AFSCME #410" was carried by AFSCME members on that march. At the conference that followed, Carole Lesnick, representing Local 410, addressed the demonstrators, explaining why her union is backing the ERA drive.

"Passage of the ERA would constitute an important tool in our efforts to defend the interests of our growing number of women workers," she said.

"The ERA would help us to secure equal pay for equal work and equal rights on the job. This is especially important during a time of economic crisis when women, along with Black people, are especially hard hit. In addition, passage of the ERA will be a springboard to defending not only the interests of

women, but of all union members as well as other working people.

"We recognize that it's going to take a united effort and continued effort to get the ERA passage," concluded Lesnick, "and we are proud to raise labor's banner along with our sisters and brothers from other AFL-CIO unions, the Teamsters, United Auto Workers, and Coalition of Labor Union Women in the March 6 activities. . . ."

Activists in the AFSCME ERA committee participate in the St. Louis chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

CLUW's National Executive Board (NEB) voted in March to "enthusiastically endorse the May 16 Illinois ERA Mobilization." In explaining why ERA ratification is CLUW's "foremost priority," an NEB resolution stated, "The ERA is a working women's issue. It is an issue of equal pay, increased job opportunities, and fair medical sick leave provisions. We support it in recognition of the fact that we will never have our full economic rights until we have our full legal rights."

The national CLUW leadership body urged CLUW chapters to mobilize unionists for the national march in Illinois, saying, "Victory there will influence Indiana, Missouri, and all the other unratified states."

Within St. Louis CLUW, an ERA committee involves unionists from AFSCME; Teamsters, the UAW, Communications Workers, and the American Federation of Teachers. It recently initiated a CLUW forum here on "The ERA, Working Women, and the Unions." Speakers were Liz McPike, a CLUW NEB member and Illinois state coordinator of AFSCME, and Sue Shear, Missouri state representative.

The CLUW ERA committee is focusing its efforts on contacting all unions in the St. Louis area and getting their active support for the May 16 march.

## Their Government

Nancy Cole



### Enforcing mine safety

WASHINGTON—Spotlighted by the Kentucky mine disaster that took the lives of twenty-six men in early March, the Senate Labor Subcommittee is considering new mine safety legislation.

The law now in effect was considered a vast improvement at the time of its enactment in 1969. The problem, as usual, has come with its enforcement. "A UMWA [United Mine Workers of America] mine has not had a disaster in the past few years, and that's because we've had to enforce the laws," UMWA President Arnold Miller told the Senate committee March 25.

The proposed amendments, Senate Bill 1302, have some "get tough" provisions that have riled the coal operators. For instance, a section giving inspectors the right to order miners withdrawn if there is an imminent danger raises "serious, and unnecessary, questions of taking private property without just compensation," said Edward McCabe of the American Mining Congress.

While for the most part the new provisions sound like gains for miners, the problem still remains: how will they be enforced?

But the Senate committee has come up with what they describe as the solution. The *real* problem, they say, is that the Department of the Interior is responsible both for promoting the production of coal and for enforcing mine safety. The two jobs are contradictory, thus producing a "departmental schizophrenia," in the words of committee head Sen. Harrison Williams. If the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration [MESA] is moved to the Department of Labor, will not the problem be solved?

This proposed transfer of responsibility away from the notoriously employer-dominated Bureau of Mines

has the support of the UMWA. The Department of Labor's "primary function is to promote the welfare of American Labor," Miller's statement to the committee said. But whether this theoretical function will be translated into better mine safety enforcement remains to be seen.

Content with the way things are, the mining industry opposes the move. The Gypsum Association even went so far as to quote from a report by a staff member of the Senate's labor committee, which had criticized the Labor Department's Occupational Safety and Health Administration. "Since OSHA's enactment over four years ago," the report stated, "some 95 per cent of all covered employers have yet to experience an OSHA inspection; in fiscal 1973, 98 per cent of the violations were classified as non-serious and carried an average penalty of \$18.00. . . . During the fiscal year of 1974, no citations were issued at 32 per cent of the accident inspections."

Although not mentioned in any of the official testimony, there was an example even closer to home. About a week before the Senate committee began its hearings, twenty-one construction workers were injured in an explosion in a Washington, D.C., subway tunnel. The construction company had been using a gas banned by OSHA regulations, and what's more, the district OSHA office had known about it for at least a month.

A couple of weeks after the accident, the Labor Department announced that it was citing the firm for two safety violations, and that it just might levy a debilitating fine of \$700!

It's not much of a model to pattern more vigilant mine safety after. As in the past, the job of seeing this new law enforced will remain with the UMWA.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**No fish story**—Application for a New York State fishing permit includes the following: "I further state that I am not a member of nor do I subscribe to the principles of any organization which advocates the overthrow of our present form of government by force, violence, or any unlawful means." Which, a cynical friend comments, isn't unreasonable since it's well known that radicals like to fish in troubled waters.

**Steel-trap logic**—"If homosexuality became 100 percent, the human race would cease to exist in one generation."—Los Angeles Police Chief Ed Davis.

**A home away from home**—If you're convalescing, reserve the Stanton P. Kettler Suite at the Miami Heart Institute. It features two baths



'The trouble is people today don't seem to have faith in our institutions.'

with white marble sinks, two color TVs, stereo, a well-stocked bar, plus a spare bed for a friend or relative.

**Friendly notice**—Those who don't respect the Farm Workers boycott might start wearing lead BVDs when they toss up a lettuce salad. Salinas Valley growers hope to displace 3,500 lettuce pickers with a radioactive machine that picks lettuce after shooting in gamma rays to determine maturity.

**Clean as a city sewer**—A special study found a decline in organized graft and corruption among New York police. The study was made by the police department.

**Election-year special?**—A new rat trap grabs the unlucky rodent with a pair of steel-spiked jaws, electrocutes

it, and dumps the body into a plastic bag where an arm pushes it to the rear to make space for the next victim.

**Try the dead-letter office**—The post office said it apparently has lost the ashes of a man sent through the mail for burial at Arlington National Cemetery. A cemetery official said the shipping container was received broken and the urn was not in it.

**Behind the smokescreen**—"Ninety percent of the 80,000 lung cancer deaths per year are due to smoking. The government spends . . . \$14.30 per death in educating the public about the dangers of smoking, while the tobacco industry spends \$2,857 per death in promoting smoking."—From the newsletter of the Wisconsin Lung Association.

## La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza



### A time for unity in action

[Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers party's candidate for U.S. Congress from New York's Eighteenth Congressional District.]

While talking with Puerto Ricans in New York City's Lower East Side about the April 24 march on Boston to defend school desegregation, supporters of my campaign for Congress have been hawking copies of the *Militant* with the astonishing photograph taken outside Boston's city hall on April 5. The photograph shows a racist charging at a Black man with the pointed end of a flagpole with an American flag still attached.

That picture can raise many memories to someone with black or brown skin—a cop with a club, a school administrator with a cane, a Klansman with a burning cross.

It made one Puerto Rican woman on East Second Street grimace visibly as she recalled a beating given her child. Last year, as she pounded frantically on the door of a locked classroom at Public School 188, she watched a teacher punch and throw her seven-year-old son around the room. The school

administration did nothing but call her a liar.

The attacks on Boston's Black community are a threat to the lives and democratic rights of Puerto Ricans also.

Blacks and Puerto Ricans are united by a common enemy in this country—virulent racism, which more and more rears its ugly head against our youth. Stoned school buses in Boston, the sabotage of bilingual education programs in New York's school District One, the elimination of open admissions in New York City's university system. Both Blacks and Puerto Ricans are the victims of inferior education.

The sponsors of the April 24 march are organizing support in Boston's Puerto Rican community, and have issued a statement of solidarity with the fight to defend bilingual-bicultural education. The racist Boston School Committee claims that "the cost of desegregation" does not allow them to provide for bilingual education. What a crude attempt to divide the two communities!

The April 24 coalition statement says, "We see the April 24 march in support of school desegregation

and against the racist attacks as a chance to build a movement that can also win bilingual education."

The antibusing drive in Boston is a national testing ground for how much bigots can get away with. It's like a crack in a dam that threatens to grow wider and spill over unless it is stopped.

Blacks and Puerto Ricans must unite now to defend what we have often fought together to win. Open admissions in New York City's university system was won through the struggle of Puerto Rican and Black students. Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese have united to fight for community control of schools in the Lower East Side. We have fought together against racist hiring policies and discriminatory layoffs.

Puerto Ricans, Blacks, whites, women, trade unionists, students, and many others will march in Boston on April 24 in defense of Black students who want the right to an equal education. This demonstration will be another much-needed step in building a countermobilization that can defeat the antibusing movement. Join us on April 24. ¡Unidos venceremos!

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



### Of peanuts and politics

Besides the most obvious use, George Washington Carver, the Black agricultural chemist, discovered hundreds of other uses for *Arachis hypogaea*—for making glue, for sizing paper and fabrics, and as a source of synthetic fiber. Peanuts were his bag.

Now comes a certain public office hopeful who has found yet another use for the goober. He has sown it as his calling card in the Democratic race for the presidency, and he is reaping hay.

Peanut Politics has really paid off for the candidate, and because of it he is one of the three front-runners.

Just the other day, by way of example, it was paying off for him.

"Who's that, Jackson?" asked a young Black man who passed by an outdoor rally for Henry Jackson in New York City. "Is he the one Martin Luther King's father says on the TV to vote for?"

When told no, the young man was saddened—a perfect illustration of Peanut Politics in action.

Just as the peanut candidate has convinced King's father that if the presidential soil is acid then lime must be added to get a good crop, so has

he convinced other Blacks. So many, in fact, that he has won the Black vote in the Democratic primaries more consistently than any of the other candidates.

And this he has done through Peanut Politics.

"I will never tell you a lie," is an oft-heard statement of the peanut candidate. Appearing to come from the kernel, such a statement has a broad appeal to Blacks, who have more than once been the victims of mendacious candidates.

But just as young goobers need a hot sun to reach maturity, so, dear listeners, it is necessary to differentiate between peanuts and politics.

A constitutional ban on busing is detestable, but so is "mandatory" busing to remove school segregation, the goober man says to Blacks, offering warm peanuts to soothe hurt feelings.

Peanut Politics, like the bush goobers grow on, often comes quite low.

Several days ago at a campaign stop in Indiana, the peanut candidate, blue-knit suited, hair fluffed and flaxen, came out for white segregated neighborhoods.

The government should help to maintain the

"ethnic purity" of white neighborhoods, he said. "I think it's good to maintain the homogeneity of neighborhoods if they've been established that way."

He said he opposes "Black intrusion" and the "injecting" of "alien groups" of a "diametrically opposite kind of family" into white neighborhoods.

Reporters who questioned his remarks were accused of "trying to make something out of it, and there's nothing to be made of it."

Not everyone, however, agreed. Headlines frowned on his remarks and, immediately, supporters were shaken.

"A disaster for the campaign," said prominent Black supporter Andrew Young, adding, "He made a terrible blunder."

Two days later the peanut candidate attempted a public retraction. He didn't mean "ethnic purity" but "ethnic character," he said in a glare of TV mikes and bright lights. Then, reaching nervously behind him for warm peanuts to soothe hurt feelings, he slipped on some peanut butter and fell, unnoticed, into a nut-grinding machine.

# Camejo, Reid blast racist attack in Boston

By Andrea Morell, director, 1976 campaign committee

The picture of a gang of antibusing bigots trying to run a flagpole through Theodore Landsmark in Boston April 5 was published in major newspapers throughout the country.

At least one of the Democratic or Republican presidential aspirants must have seen it and read the accompanying reports detailing the racist violence that has become a fact of daily life for Boston's Black community.

## Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund

But not one of them has uttered a single word of outrage or protest in response. None of them have demanded that the Boston authorities defend the rights and lives of Black Bostonians.

In fact, the day after Landsmark was assaulted, Jimmy Carter made his flagrantly racist statements in defense of "ethnic purity" and against Black "intrusions" into white neighborhoods. As Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid put it in a news release they issued April 12, "Carter's statements can only

provide further encouragement for this type of mob violence. The racists, after all, were protecting the 'ethnic purity' of their neighborhood against 'intrusions' by Black students who desire equal education and Black families desiring decent housing."

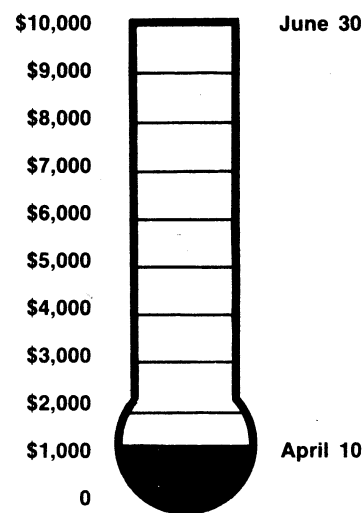
In contrast to the capitalist party politicians, Camejo and Reid are making support to school desegregation and solidarity with Boston's Black community a major theme of their campaign.

In speeches, interviews, and news statements that reach hundreds of thousands of people, the socialist candidates are helping to win support for the right of the Black community, in Boston and elsewhere, to use busing to achieve an equal education.

Camejo and Reid are activists in this struggle. On May 17, 1975, Camejo joined the historic march of 15,000 in Boston sponsored by the NAACP demanding school desegregation.

In February 1976, both candidates interrupted national speaking tours to attend an emergency meeting of the steering committee of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. They listened to firsthand accounts from victims of racist terror in Boston and pledged support to plans for a nationwide response.

### How we're doing



When probusing leaders called a march and rally in Boston for April 24, Camejo and Reid immediately endorsed the action. Both candidates will join the marchers April 24, and Reid will address the rally.

This is the kind of activity the Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund is helping to make possible. Our goal is

to raise \$10,000 by June 30. The first scoreboard shows we're off to a promising start with contributions received totaling \$1,276. This represents payment of pledges made at socialist rallies in Berkeley, Chicago, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Newark, Queens, San Diego, and St. Louis.

Help keep the socialist campaign on the march by sending in the coupon below with your contribution.

Make checks payable to Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Business address \_\_\_\_\_

A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson, Fred Halstead; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

# Camejo speaks at Wisconsin strike rally

By Bruce Lesnick and Jane Harris

MADISON, Wis.—Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo spoke here to a rally of 500 striking teaching assistants April 1. Referring to the Wisconsin primary the following week, Camejo told the TAs, "What you're doing today is more important than what's going to happen in Wisconsin next Tuesday."

Earlier in the day, Camejo walked the picket line with members of the Madison Teaching Assistants Association (TAA). The TAA was conducting a two-day work stoppage to demand that the university hold down class sizes, make its budget tapes available, and concede the right to bargain wages.

TAs conduct the majority of undergraduate education here at the University of Wisconsin.

The previous evening 300 people at the campus had turned out to hear Camejo at a meeting sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance. He was met with a standing ovation when he condemned the U.S. war drive abroad,



Camejo addressed 500 striking teaching assistants at University of Wisconsin

from Africa to the Middle East.

Unlike the Democratic and Republican candidates, whose main campaign slogan is "Vote for me," Camejo stressed the necessity for students and working people to rely on their own power to bring about change. This was

the way the war in Vietnam was ended, the way legal segregation was abolished in the South, and the way the union movement was built, Camejo pointed out.

The socialist candidate urged support for two current social struggles:

the fight for desegregated education in Boston and the campaign to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Camejo encouraged students to participate in the upcoming April 24 march for busing in Boston and the pro-ERA demonstration scheduled for May 16 in Springfield, Illinois.

Prolonged applause greeted Camejo's blast against the U.S. Supreme Court ruling upholding laws that ban homosexual acts between consenting adults. "It is absurd to treat people like criminals simply because of their sexual orientation," Camejo said.

In contrast to the lukewarm, and often hostile, reception on Wisconsin campuses to the major Democratic and Republican candidates during their primary electioneering, Camejo was well received throughout his tour. Aside from his stop in Madison, Camejo also spoke at the state universities in Milwaukee, Eau Claire, and Oshkosh.

Forty people signed up to campaign for Camejo in Wisconsin, and five joined the YSA.

## SWP launches Arizona ballot drive

By Ed Heisler

Arizona supporters of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, have begun a drive to put the SWP on the ballot in November.

Arizona law requires the collection of 11,044 signatures, but campaigners plan to gather well above that amount to ensure a ballot spot. The petitions will be gathered during a three- to four-week period between mid-April and early May.

"The petitioning drive will introduce thousands of Arizonans to the Camejo-Reid campaign," said Jessica Sampson, Phoenix coordinator for the drive.

"Many people already know about the SWP from the well-publicized case of Dr. Morris Starsky," Sampson added.

Starsky was hounded from his teaching post at Arizona State University in 1970 for his anti-Vietnam War activities and socialist views. Previously

secret FBI documents recently released through the SWP's lawsuit against government harassment prove that the FBI engineered the witch-hunt against Starsky.

Arizona residents who would like to participate in the petitioning effort should call (602) 277-9453, or write:

Jessica Sampson, Box 2235, Scottsdale, Arizona 85252.

SWP candidates have been certified for ballot status in Michigan, and petitions have recently been filed in three other states: 50,000 signatures in Pennsylvania; 2,400 in Kentucky, and 23,000 in Ohio.

## Join the socialist campaign

☐ Send me a free copy of the campaign platform, "A Bill of rights for Working People" in English ☐ in Spanish ☐.

☐ I want to attend a campaign meeting to help plan activities.

☐ I want to join the Socialist Workers party.

Contact the campaign headquarters nearest you (see Socialist Directory, page 26), or clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Business Address \_\_\_\_\_

School/union local \_\_\_\_\_

Chairperson, Fred Halstead; Treasurer, Arthur Hughes.



# Betrayal threatens wider war

## Syrian regime backs up Lebanese

By David Frankel  
From Intercontinental Press

Lebanon's year-old civil war threatens to suck all those around it into the vortex. The latest truce, agreed to April 1, is unlikely to prove any more stable than the twenty-six that have preceded it. In the meantime, Syria and Israel are teetering on the brink of a new Middle East war.

Lebanon itself lies in ruins, with 15,000 to 20,000 dead and at least double that number wounded out of a population of roughly three million. In addition to the dead and maimed—accounting for one Lebanese in fifty—hundreds of thousands have fled the country, and countless more have been left destitute.

The current truce was arranged by Syria's President Hafez al-Assad, who is trying to patch together an accord between the two sides in the civil war. Both Washington and Moscow have endorsed Assad's efforts.

However, while praising Assad's attempts to stabilize the situation in Lebanon, the Ford administration has made preparations to intervene with U.S. forces in case Assad proves unable to deliver. Pentagon officials announced March 30 that seven U.S. warships, including the helicopter carrier *Guadalcanal* and a force of 1,700 marines, were cruising in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Washington's excuse for deployment of its gunboats was that they might be needed to evacuate American citizens if the fighting continues. Kissinger sought to allay any suspicions about American intentions by telling a group of diplomats that "there is nothing we can do physically" in Lebanon.

Only the gullible will be reassured by Kissinger's words. U.S. warships were not dispatched to "protect" American citizens during the right-wing coups in Chile and Argentina or during the bloody Indonesian take-over in East Timor. The naval ploy is intended to threaten military intervention.

U.S. forces in the Mediterranean off the coast of Lebanon are complemented by Israeli forces on Lebanon's southern border.

Jonathan C. Randal reported in the March 31 *Washington Post* that "Israel appeared to be going through the motions of a full-scale border alert. . . ."

For the moment, the threats of U.S. and Israeli invasion have receded to the background while Lebanese politicians haggle over the issue of replacing the discredited Suleiman Franjeh with a new president. But the danger of a wider war is far from over.

### What the war is about

Three fundamental problems are at issue in Lebanon. As long as they remain acute, differences over them

tend to flare into civil war. The problems are the following:

- *The discriminatory governmental system.* This is the legacy of French imperialism, which ruled Lebanon by playing off the Christians against the Muslims. Although the Muslim population is now estimated to be a 60 percent majority in Lebanon, the Christians—particularly the Maronite sect—are guaranteed a dominant role in the government.

The historical link between the Maronite rightists and imperialism led to the U.S. invasion of Lebanon in 1958 during a much smaller civil war than the one going on now. By forcibly blocking enactment of the democratic reforms demanded by the Muslim population in 1958, the Eisenhower administration helped set the stage for the bloodbath taking place in Lebanon.

- *Oppression of the Palestinians.* Since the Christian rightists look to imperialism for aid in defending their privileges against the Muslim masses, they naturally oppose the demands of the Palestinian liberation movement for a more active anti-imperialist governmental policy.

There are 300,000 to 400,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, which is the only Arab country in which independent Palestinian organizations can operate freely. The Palestinians have both Muslims and Christians among them, but this makes no difference to the Christian rightists: They demand the suppression of the Palestinian liberation movement in Lebanon. It was an attack by the Maronite Phalangist party on a busload of Palestinians returning from a rally in April 1975 that touched off the civil war.

- *The struggles of the workers and peasants.* One of the events that set the stage for the civil war was an uprising in Sidon in February 1975. Lebanese fishermen won the support of Palestinian workers in their struggle against the granting of a government fishing monopoly to the Protein Company.

The Protein Company was formed by Camille Chamoun—the president of Lebanon in 1958 and the present minister of the interior—and Tony Franjeh, the son of the current president. This illustrates the fact that the political discrimination against the Muslim majority is intertwined with economic exploitation and oppression in other areas of life.

It is important to note, however, that while the bulk of the working class is Muslim and the strongest section of the capitalist class in Lebanon is Christian, the religious and class divisions are not identical by any means. What has happened in the Maronite communities especially is that the mass of the population has



Muslim soldiers celebrating a victory. Syria has prolonged civil war to strengthen foothold in Lebanon and contain influence of Palestinian liberation forces.

been enlisted in a war to defend Christian privileges, and this has submerged the class divisions among the Maronites.

### The Syrian betrayal

Although the masses who adhere to the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition have been pushed into motion by the issues of religious discrimination, Palestinian liberation, and social and economic needs, their leaders have other things in mind.

The intense fighting that raged from September 1975 to January 1976, broken only by brief truces, was ended by the intervention of units of the Palestine Liberation Army stationed in Syria. The PLA intervention was sufficient to swing the fight—which had been stalemated up to then—against the Christian rightists.

But the Assad regime, which had sanctioned the PLA intervention, had no interest in helping the Muslim masses to win the civil war. A total victory for the Muslim side and the establishment of a relatively strong, unified regime would diminish Syria's influence inside Lebanon. Furthermore, Assad was interested in gaining some control over the Palestinian groups inside Lebanon, not in strengthening their independence, since in the past they have sometimes stood as obstacles to Syrian diplomacy.

Therefore, although the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition was in a position to do away with the old system of religious quotas in public life, Assad pushed through a truce agreement based on maintenance of the system with minor changes.

But Assad reckoned without the stubborn resistance of the Maronite establishment to even the most minor changes. While the Maronite politicians stalled on implementing any reforms at all, realization of the betrayal they had suffered began to sink in among the Muslim masses.

Ahmed el-Khatib, a lieutenant in the 18,000-man Lebanese army, denounced the continuation of the sectarian system. He formed a group called the Lebanese Arab Army, vowing to fight for further changes.

This appeal fell on fertile ground. One garrison after another began to rebel and join the Lebanese Arab

Army, which is now estimated to have between 40 and 70 percent of the old army with it. Maronite soldiers and officers went over to the rightists, and by mid-March the army had disintegrated.

When a column of the Lebanese Arab Army moved toward the presidential palace March 15 to enforce the demand that Franjeh resign as president, they were stopped by dug-in units of Saiqa. Saiqa, a pro-Syrian Palestinian guerrilla group, has acted as an extension of the Assad regime.

The intervention of Assad's lackeys saved Franjeh, but it was too late to save the cease-fire. On March 16 Kamal Jumblatt added his voice to those denouncing Assad's scheme, saying, "The Syrians should go home."

Jumblatt's decision was a heavy blow to Assad. The leader of the Druse sect, Jumblatt also heads the reformist Parti Socialiste Progressiste (PSP—Progressive Socialist Party), and a 7,000-member militia.

### Jumblatt eyes the presidency

One of the richest men in Lebanon, Jumblatt helped bring Franjeh to power in 1970. He has served in a number of cabinets under the old discriminatory system. In an interview in the January 27 issue of *Le Monde*, Jumblatt praised the January 22 Syrian-backed cease-fire, saying:

"This agreement is supported by all parties. I hope that it will be implemented in full, considering that it represents a step toward disengagement and the restoration of order."

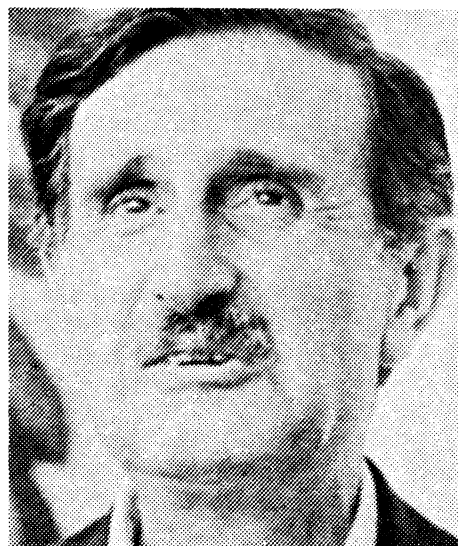
But Jumblatt also noted that "we would have preferred to see denominationalism completely abolished and the state secularized." Jumblatt was sincere in this desire. As a Druse, he is excluded from the presidency, which continues to be reserved for the Maronite sect under the terms of the settlement proposed by Damascus.

Thus, when the Lebanese Arab Army opened a breach in the Syrian-imposed truce, Jumblatt seized the opportunity that had been presented to him. He was supported by most Palestinian groups, which have good reason to be distrustful of Assad's intentions.

According to news reports, a number of units of the Syrian army were sent into Lebanon, but they did little or no



Syria's Assad (left) has withheld needed supplies from Lebanese Muslims led by political and religious figure, Kamal Jumblatt.



# rightists

fighting. Assad would have risked provoking strong opposition at home if he sent Syrian troops to fight openly beside the Maronite rightists. In addition, the Israeli regime has made clear that it would view any sizable Syrian intervention in Lebanon as an opportunity to carry out its own invasion and annex southern Lebanon.

In this situation, the Muslim forces led by Jumblatt and the Lebanese Arab Army made a series of military gains.

## Another stab in the back

Assad, however, had not given up on his attempt to dictate a settlement in Lebanon that would leave him with leverage in that country. On March 29 Jumblatt charged that the Syrian dictator had cut off shipments of arms, food, and medicine to the Palestinian groups that were not going along with his policies.

In the meantime, Assad ordered a buildup of troops on the Lebanese border. The Syrian troop concentration reached 17,000 by April 1. It was on that night that a new truce was agreed to.

But the April 1 truce is a shaky affair at best. The forces of both sides remain in position, and the truce is only for ten days, although it may well be extended. Moreover, even if Franjeh is replaced as president, as is called for by the truce, this will not reduce the sharpness of the underlying issues in the conflict.

In view of the shakiness of the truce, Assad's forces in Lebanon have moved into positions that could be used to strangle the Muslim forces in the event of renewed fighting. It is estimated that Assad has as many as 12,000 troops already in Lebanon who will follow his orders.

"In Beirut," William Blakemore reported in the April 5 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Syrian-based Palestinian troops of the Saiqa brigade were moved in the dead of night Saturday into strategic positions on roads near the Beirut airport to help control possible arms traffic and troop movements."

James M. Markham of the *New York Times* reported in an April 7 dispatch from Beirut that "in the last few days, there have been armed clashes between As Saiqa guerrillas and Lebanese leftist and left-wing Palestinian groups, which have been subjected to considerable Syrian pressure to modify their demands for sweeping changes in Lebanon's sectarian political arrangement."

Assad's stab in the back of the Palestinian liberation movement and of the Lebanese masses fighting for elementary democratic rights has been warmly encouraged by Washington. Markham reported April 4:

"Since many American analysts consider Mr. Assad as interested in a negotiated Middle East settlement, Washington seems eager to buttress his mediation efforts here. One diplomatic source called the American-Syrian exchanges on the Lebanese crisis 'remarkably good.'"

One thing that Assad does not count on is that the American imperialists can stab him in the back just as easily as he has betrayed the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition in Lebanon. If the situation in Lebanon is still boiling when the May 30 renewal of the United Nations truce force in the Golan Heights comes up, Israel may take advantage of the fact to deal a blow at Syria.

Meanwhile, no solution in Lebanon is in sight, and Syrian, Israeli, and U.S. forces remain poised to intervene.

## Circulation drive

# Some new ways to sell the 'Militant'

By Pat Galligan

Stick 'em up—*Militant* promotional materials, that is. This advice from Lynn Nelson, an at-large member of the Young Socialist Alliance in Chico, California.

Nelson sells a bundle of ten *Militants* each week at the state university there, and has already sent in four pre-paid subscription cards toward a goal of five for the spring drive.

A good portion of Nelson's sales take place at the socialist literature table, which is becoming a familiar sight in the student union. Nelson's success is due at least in part to using *Militant* promotional material to attract customers to the table.

"I've put up stickers saying 'The *Militant*' all over campus," writes Nelson. "It really helps."

*Militant* stickers and posters are available from the business office upon request.

Two YSAers at Walnut Hills High School in Cincinnati set up a literature table before classes once or twice each week. The table offers the *Militant*, the *Young Socialist*, pamphlets—and breakfast.

That's right. Coffee and donuts are sold along with socialist literature.

The Cincinnati YSA reports that the venture has been successful on both counts.

*Militant* and YS sales range from seven to twelve papers each time the table is set up. Several students have also signed up for subscriptions to the *Militant*. And, funds for YSA projects are raised from breakfast sales. Food for thought.

The Portland (Oregon) State University chapter of the YSA organized a special sales and subscription blitz March 29-April 2.

According to chapter organizer Louise Haberbush, the seventeen subscriptions sold during the week were obtained in a variety of ways. "We sold subscriptions in the cafeteria and in dormitories as well as from our literature table and during single-copy sales," explains Haberbush.

In addition to the subscriptions, the chapter sold fifty single copies—twice their regular weekly goal.

We received twenty-four subscriptions from Minneapolis this week. Twenty-two of these were sold in that city's Native American community.

Jim Carson, who coordinates sales for the Minneapolis Socialist Workers

party, tells us that the April 9 *Militant's* feature story on Dennis Banks was especially well received. "Indians here are glad to see a newspaper covering Banks's struggle," said Carson.

We received reports from two other cities regarding the response to the Banks feature. In Portland, Oregon, sixty-seven copies of the April 9 issue were sold at a defense rally for Banks. Socialists from the five Bay Area branches of the SWP sold more than 275 *Militants* at the April 3 San Francisco demonstration in support of Banks.

Chris Rayson from Cleveland just sent in twelve subscriptions. These were sold to co-workers at Ohio Bell Telephone. Interest in the *Militant* was prompted by the recent disclosures of FBI black bag jobs at the SWP national headquarters.

The *Militant's* spring subscription drive remains ahead of schedule. The 353 subscriptions received this week bring our total to date to 2,428, or 44 percent of the goal.

The pace of the drive has slowed down somewhat, however. We have to receive 450 subscriptions each week to successfully complete the drive by the end of May.



Militant/Ron Payne

275 'Militants' were sold at April 3 San Francisco demonstration in defense of Dennis Banks.

## Subscription scoreboard

City	Goal	Sent in	%	Atlanta	225	46	20
Lexington, Ky.	15	15	100	Champaign, Ill.	10	2	20
Chico, Calif.	5	4	80	Logan, Utah	15	3	20
Portland, Ore.	100	70	70	Houston	300	48	16
Louisville, Ky.	15	10	67	Detroit	200	28	14
Ann Arbor, Mich.	10	6	60	Chicago	300	28	9
Madison, Wis.	30	17	57	San Jose	80	7	9
Richmond, Va.	30	16	53	Dallas	25	2	8
Philadelphia	200	103	52	State College, Pa.	25	2	8
Cincinnati	25	13	52	San Francisco	225	16	7
New York City	500	252	50	Tucson, Ariz.	15	1	7
Kansas City, Mo.	10	5	50	Denver	150	9	6
Bloomington, Ind.	50	24	48	Edinboro, Pa.	20	1	5
St. Louis	125	56	45	Indianapolis	25	1	4
Newark	100	45	45	Ithaca, N.Y.	25	1	4
Oakland, Calif.	100	45	45	General		74	
Cleveland	175	75	43	YSA Teams			
Minneapolis	225	91	40	Wisconsin	130	142	109
Pittsburgh	180	72	40	New England	80	69	86
San Diego	150	60	40	New York	160	104	65
Miami	10	4	40	Ohio/Kentucky	160	89	56
Washington, D.C., Area	220	86	39	Texas	160	60	38
Baltimore	90	31	34	Upper Midwest	160	56	35
Los Angeles	350	117	33	Rocky Mountain	110	28	25
Milwaukee	150	49	33	Illinois/Indiana	160	39	24
New Orleans	100	33	33	Michigan	160	36	23
San Antonio	30	10	33	Northwest	80	13	16
Boston	250	81	32	Northern Calif.	140	21	15
Berkeley, Calif.	125	37	30	Southern Calif.	160	15	9
Albany, N.Y.	10	3	30	Mid-Atlantic	160	11	7
East Lansing, Mich.	10	3	30	Pennsylvania	100	1	1
Seattle	175	42	24	<b>Total</b>	<b>5,500</b>	<b>2,428</b>	<b>44</b>
				Should be	5,500	2,050	37

## School board election

# RUP activist wins San Antonio seat

By Pedro Vázquez

SAN ANTONIO—The movement to improve education for Chicanos here took a step forward on April 3.

On that date Pablo Escamilla, Jr., won a seat on the seven-member school board in the Edgewood school district.

The elections are officially "nonpartisan," meaning that candidates do not openly run under a party label. But Escamilla is known in the Chicano community as an activist in the Raza Unida party.

The newly elected school board member ran as part of an independent slate known as CARE, the Committee for an Alternative and Relevant Education.

Also running on the CARE slate were David Garza, Demetrio Rodriguez, and Rachel Rangel. While all got substantial votes, Escamilla was the only member of the slate to win a seat.

Garza is also known as a Raza

Unida activist. Rodríguez, a former board member, was the plaintiff in a landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision that bears his name.

In 1973 the court upheld the reactionary method of financing education in Texas and many other parts of the country. The "Rodríguez decision" said that it is constitutional to base school financing on the property taxes in an individual school district. This favors school districts where rich people live at the expense of the poorer ones, such as Edgewood, which is 94 percent Chicano and 6 percent Black.

Anglo school officials have set up totally separate school districts in the more affluent neighborhoods, thus keeping Chicanos and Blacks out of the better schools. In the San Antonio area there are approximately seventeen "independent" school districts.

Escamilla told the *Militant* that the opposing slate, backed by the Demo-

crats, had initially fielded a Mexican-American Democrat against him. But they withdrew him at the last minute and ran a Black candidate instead.

This cynical maneuver was intended to draw the Black vote to the Democrat-backed slate. The Black candidate lost, but the other members of that slate won.

Escamilla deplored the absence of a Black school board member as "taxation without representation."

He intends to propose to the board that the elections in Edgewood be conducted on the basis of "single-member districts." The current policy is to elect all members at-large. This alternative method, Escamilla believes, will make Black community representation possible.

In the meantime, Escamilla vowed to be "especially sensitive to the unique needs of Blacks."



## Opposition surfaces in China

# Thousands join protest in Peking

By Michael Baumann

From Intercontinental Press

On April 5, in the central square of Peking, tens of thousands of persons held a day-long demonstration that startled the world.

The protest action came in the midst of a growing struggle in the Chinese bureaucracy. One of the issues appears to be the succession to Mao Tsetung, now eighty-two years old and reportedly in declining health.

The protest came in reaction to the removal early in the morning of thousands of wreaths placed in honor of Chou En-lai at the Martyrs' Monument in Tien An Men Square the previous day.

Numerous notices had been posted in the square requesting that the wreaths, many of which contained political inscriptions, be left untouched until April 6. The Ching Ming Festival (Day for Remembering the Dead) of April 4 had served as the occasion for the public tribute to Chou.

### Eyewitness accounts

Correspondent Ross H. Munro of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* was an eyewitness observer at the protests that followed the removal of the wreaths and has provided one of the most detailed accounts of the day's events by a Western reporter.

He reported the origin of the demonstration as follows:

The crews removing the wreaths worked behind a cordon of hundreds of security men. About 8 o'clock Monday morning, however, large crowds of people began gathering at the cordon. Witnesses then saw a scuffle, policemen's hats going up in the air, and the crowd surge forward. In a short time the police lines were breached in a number of places and tens of thousands of people were on the square.

April 6 Reuters dispatch from Peking reported that once the demonstrators had gained entrance to the square, secondary-school students placed new wreaths at the monument. "Cheered on by the crowd," Reuters said, "they raised a photograph of Mr. Chou. The demonstrators then surged across to the steps of the Great Hall of the People, apparently with the intention of presenting a petition."

A sizable number of persons sought to enter the Great Hall, where only weeks ago top Maoist bureaucrats had clinked glasses with former President Nixon. Munro described what happened:

Cordons of unarmed soldiers, policemen, and plainclothes security officers frantically formed and reformed lines in and around Tien An Men Square in an effort to control the crowds.

But there were more than 10,000 people on the steps of the main entrance to the Great Hall alone, chanting "Open the door . . . Long live Chairman Mao . . . Long live Chou En-lai . . ." With defiance in their voices, they sang the Internationale, the international Communist anthem.

### Handful of evil men?

Peking Mayor Wu Teh made repeated calls for the protesters to disperse. In a message played over loudspeakers, he blamed the demonstration on a "small minority of ambitious, evil men," on "bad elements" who had become "involved with counterrevolutionary subversive activities."

This theme, along with remarkably detailed accounts of the protesters' alleged "violence," was to become an important focus of attack in the official account of the demonstration released two days later.

The accounts by Western reporters, while noting occasional scuffles and fights, differ sharply from Peking's



Thousands gather in Peking's Tien An Men Square April 3 bearing huge portraits of Chou En-lai and floral wreaths in his honor. Two days later demonstrations broke out protesting removal of wreaths by state authorities.

account in describing the mood of the crowd.

Munro, a veteran correspondent, reported certain striking similarities with protests he had covered on another continent:

There was a sense of "deja vu" for an observer who had witnessed many essentially nonviolent civil rights and antiwar demonstrations in North America. The mood of the crowd was a combination of excitement, fear, curiosity, and defiance.

The vast majority of the people were not violent and really did not know what to do when they had reached the doors of the Great Hall at the edge of the square or the monument in the middle of the square. They chanted, sang, applauded, and surged back and forth on the massive steps of the Great Hall.

Other reports tell of three motor vehicles being burned and a building, said to be a security headquarters, ransacked and set ablaze. Only the Hsinhua account reports incidents in which "some [demonstrators] even threw knives and daggers at the people's police."

The problem that "foreign analysts" have with the official Hsinhua version, Munro said April 9, is that it is "sometimes at variance with what they themselves saw." He gave the following example:

The Chinese version charges that the homage to Mr. Chou was engineered by "a handful of class enemies," but it neglects to mention that many of the hundreds of thousands of people who came to the square seemed enthusiastic about what was happening.

### Political ferment

The protest over the removal of the wreaths followed several days of political ferment. According to Reuters, public demonstrations professing support for Chou began April 2, ostensibly as part of the preparations for the Ching Ming Festival.

On April 3, UPI reported, thousands gathered in the square, "carrying [a] huge portrait of the late Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and floral wreaths."

On April 4 the ferment continued.

According to Reuters, "huge crowds" rallied in the square, posting placards "praising Mr. Chou." H.D.S. Greenway of the *Washington Post* reported that "crowds estimated to number more than 250,000 people gathered in the square" that day, and that "thousands of wreaths, some of them bearing inscriptions of a decidedly political nature, piled up around the monument."

According to Munro, the inscriptions aroused interest among the participants in the April 5 demonstration, some of whom "diligently tried to decipher the shreds of posters that had been torn down."

### Teng's ouster

On April 7, Teng Hsiao-ping, formerly presented as Mao's heir apparent, but since Chou's death reviled as an arch "capitalist roadster," was ousted by a "unanimous" decision of the Politburo. The Politburo, acting "on the proposal of our great leader, Chairman Mao," stripped Teng of his titles as deputy chairman of the Chinese CP, first deputy prime minister, and commander in chief of the army.

Teng, previously denounced as a "demon" and a "freak" during the Cultural Revolution, was not, however, required to give up his membership in the Communist party, the stated reason being "to see how he will behave himself in the future."

Hua Kuo-feng, a former head of the political police, was elevated to the post of premier and first deputy chairman of the CP, theoretically making him No. 2 in the hierarchy after Mao.

Both announcements were made the evening of April 7. Perhaps the moves were made to stiffen bureaucratic ranks against a frightening threat—an upsurge of the masses.

Throughout that night and the following day, demonstrations were held in Peking, hailing the decision to oust Teng. These were somewhat different in character from those held in Tien An Men Square.

"Marching in flag-waving columns that stretched for miles," a news

dispatch in the April 9 *Washington Post* reported, "the demonstrators banged drums and beat gongs and cymbals. But the parades seemed to lack spontaneity, and pedestrians watching the marchers failed to match their enthusiasm."

In fact, Japan's Kyodo news service reported April 8, Peking residents "appeared baffled" at the new developments and "apparently harbored a strong sense of bewilderment at the rapid tempo of change."

### Bewilderment

Much the same could be said of the "China watchers," news commentators, and State Department specialists.

It is certainly true that the strict censorship exercised over the Chinese press represents a formidable obstacle. The Maoist regime's practice of cloaking its moves in obscurantist verbiage presents another stumbling block, as does its practice of muzzling even the mildest critics.

But part of the confusion is also ascribable to the practice in the Western press of depicting events in China as involving two groupings, labeled as "radical" and "moderate." These designations can be very misleading, as they no more correspond to the reality than does the charge that Teng Hsiao-ping is a "demon" or that the recent mass protest was the work of a tiny handful of "evil men."

### A few conclusions

Despite the lack of information on the issues, a few conclusions can be drawn about the April 5 demonstration.

First, the protest shows that there is a grouping in opposition to Mao. Its degree of organization or size cannot be determined, because of the censorship.

Second, while it may be possible, as the editors of the *New York Times* among others have speculated, that the removal of the wreaths was a "provocation" arranged by the Maoist forces, the question remains: What was

Continued on page 26



# Capitalist candidates mum Why Black issues are ignored

By Baxter Smith

Jockeying presidential front-runners have defended their views on military expenditures, trade agreements, energy policies, and aid to Israel. But troubling many Black leaders is the recognition that none of the Democratic and Republican candidates are mentioning, much less defending, the needs of Blacks.

It is a complaint that was heard at the recent National Black Political Convention, where there was strong support for running an independent Black campaign because of continuing neglect of Blacks by the Democratic and Republican parties.

This neglect is a major complaint among Black leaders because presidential election years have traditionally meant, if nothing else, that at least the promise of equality for Blacks would not be forgotten.

But this year, other than the usual racist barbs being hurled at "welfare chiselers" and "crime in the streets"—and most recently Jimmy Carter's call for "ethnic purity"—Black leaders have found none of the candidates to be mentioning Black issues, a fact they find distressing.

Moreover, their distress is compounded by a pervasive disaffection in the Black community, a mood engendered by the high rate of joblessness and the cutbacks in social services, and reflected in lower-than-usual voter turnout in the primaries.

## 'No Blacks in the U.S.'

"If one were to listen to the speeches and follow the campaigns of the major Presidential candidates, both Republican and Democrat, one might very well get the impression that there are no Blacks in the U.S.," editorialized the April 3 *Black Philadelphia Tribune*.

"If anything, there is a deliberate attempt by the candidates to get as far away from 'Black issues' as they can," says Basil Patterson, the Black vice-chairperson of the Democratic National Committee. "There is a growing indifference, even a hostility."

U.S. Rep. Yvonne Burke (D-Calif.), the head of the Congressional Black Caucus, agrees:

"The issues that will excite just tremendous support in the Black community are just being ignored. The candidates act as if they can address minority voters at some other time."

Just before the March Illinois primary, Chicago Operation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson said:

"We are displeased and angry that the presidential candidates in both parties seem to have made a calculated decision to either write us off, take us for granted, or misuse us in a negative, political way."

"Four years ago the black media were heavy with campaign advertisements," editorialized the *Black Miami Times*. "Politicians were anything but scarce out here, being visible in motorcades, walking the streets and smiling down from billboards. Just the opposite seems to be the case this year not only in Florida but all over the country."

Contrasting this presidential election to the one four years ago, one Black Chicago radio manager recalled that in 1972 "even President Nixon was running commercials in the primary."

## Another Kennedy?

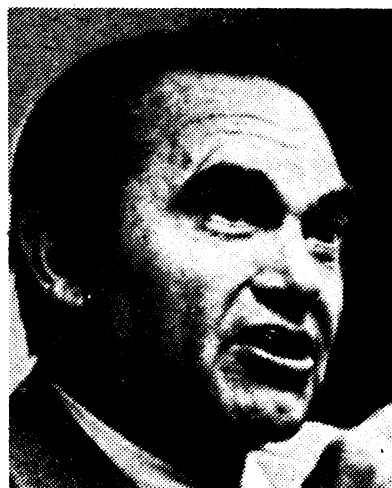
In expressing their dismay, most Black leaders cling to the view that it is simply this year's candidates, who, for some reason, have taken it upon themselves to ignore the needs of Blacks. None of them as individuals are particularly gung-ho on civil rights, as the Black leaders see it.

Consequently, there is considerable lament because there is no candidate comparable to a John Kennedy or a Lyndon Johnson—two presidents that most Black leaders believe were responsible for the social gains that Blacks won in the 1960s.

If there were a Kennedy or a Johnson among the candidates this year, according to this argument, Black needs would not be ignored.

The fallacy in this argument is that it overlooks, or reduces to only a minimal factor, the political backdrop against which the gains that came under Kennedy and Johnson were made possible—the massive, persistent civil rights movement.

Sit-ins, boycotts, mass marches, rallies, and other protests were the major factor that forced the government to end Jim Crow discrimination against Blacks in the South and forced other civil



rights victories during the 1960s.

In every case these victories were won against the policies of Kennedy and Johnson, who as senators helped block civil rights legislation, and who as presidents tried to block protests and demonstrations for Black rights. And even if there were another Kennedy or Johnson among the candidates or in office, massive pressure from civil rights forces would still be required to fight to meet Black needs.

## 'Great Society' is over

Although many Black leaders have drawn the partially correct conclusion that Black needs are being ignored because the candidates have an anti-civil rights bias, few Black leaders have drawn the fundamental conclusion that the candidates—who possess the same anti-civil rights bias as Kennedy and Johnson—are responding to the dictates of a less-flexible system.

The capitalist system is in a profound economic crisis. All of the Democratic and Republican candidates know it. And they have tailored the political thrust of their campaigns accordingly, including any issues—such as Black needs—they may speak on.

The social gains that Blacks won in the 1960s came during a period of capitalist prosperity. Although it took major political struggles by the civil rights movement to win even the smallest victories for Blacks, overall the system was much stronger economically and the government could grant concessions more easily.

Today that situation has vastly changed. Capitalism has entered a period of economic and social crisis on a world scale. Consequently, the government is in a much less flexible position in regard to granting social and economic concessions to Blacks.

The "Great Society" and the "War on Poverty" eras of the 1960s are over. And because of the economic crisis all the social programs and advancements that Blacks won under them have been placed in jeopardy, even though none of those programs were sufficient to compensate for the crippling effect of decades of discrimination.

Even many of the affirmative-action decisions regarding Black hiring and advancement on the job and in education awarded in the early 1970s under the Nixon administration have been undermined. And any economic recovery, aids to big business, or bailouts of the financially troubled cities are being accomplished at the expense of the Black community.

Seniority provisions in union contracts have been misused to back up discriminatory layoffs. Blacks

have continued to be the first to go when layoffs are ordered to balance budgets. Black unemployment, thus, continues to average above 30 percent. Social services that are essential to Blacks but that the government considers to be excesses are continuing to be cut back. Free tuition and open admissions at the universities, from which Blacks have benefited, are also going out the window.

## Appeals to racist fears

To facilitate these assaults on Black economic and social gains, the government and capitalist rulers have stirred deep racist fears in whites.

Fears surrounding school busing have proven to be the trump card.

By trying to shift the axis from school segregation and the legitimate effort of Blacks to oppose it by going to any school they desire, the government is producing racist fears in whites.

The Democratic and Republican presidential candidates are aware of this anti-Black campaign and have become a part of it. They also know that the economic recovery for big business will be based on continuation of Black misery.

That is why Congressional Black Caucus leader Burke was correct when she said that "the issues that will excite just tremendous support in the Black community are just being ignored."

Deception and empty promises are not unusual from the candidates of the twin parties at election time. But solutions to the critical problems of Blacks require—as the candidates are aware—much more radical steps than any sort of election promise they would normally make.

Such solutions require measures that will go beyond the platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties and the promises of its candidates.

Measures are required that will restore the cutbacks in social spending.

Measures are required that will end discriminatory layoffs and guarantee a job for every Black person—and all workers—in need of one.

Measures are required that will restore free tuition and open admissions at the universities.

Measures are required that will make school desegregation a priority and that will ensure the safety of Black schoolchildren being bused into previously white schools.

Measures such as these would be the priorities of an independent Black party—a party that would explain why the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates are ignoring Black needs and that would mobilize defenders of those needs at the ballot box and in the streets.



Stalinists blur key issue of Angola: the civil war between rival nationalist movements

# Behind Moscow's lies about Angola

By Dick Roberts

The Communist party in the United States has seized on the victory of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) to polemicize against those who disagree with Moscow's line on Angola. This includes a recent series of four articles by Eric Bert in the CP's newspaper the *Daily World*. Bert attempts to show that "the U.S. Trotskyite position [on Angola] has paralleled the policy of U.S. imperialism and of Maoist counterrevolution."

Further, "the Trotskyite line called for the destruction of the MPLA." The charges are completely false.

Bert pretends to base his fabrication on a report given by Tony Thomas to the January 2-4 meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party. But any reader of that report, which was reprinted in *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War*, will know that Bert is lying.

In the first paragraph of his report, here is what Thomas said about U.S. imperialism: "The Political Committee has proposed that we launch a national campaign against U.S. imperialist involvement in Angola. We want to help stop the intervention of the State Department, the CIA, and the Pentagon in the Angolan civil war. We want to help bring the secret moves of the Ford administration into the open and compel Kissinger and his cohorts to disclose the whole truth about their covert operations in Angola."

## MPLA victory

To twist the SWP's opposition to U.S. imperialism into a position that is supposed to parallel Washington's, the Stalinists focus on two aspects of the Angolan situation and the SWP's stand on them. One of these aspects is that in the final period of the civil war the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) and the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) were directly aided by U.S. and South African imperialism against the MPLA.

The other aspect is that the SWP did not call for the victory of the MPLA.

Let us take the second first.

The Kremlin provided military support to the MPLA and called for its victory over its nationalist rivals.

It is true that the SWP did not call for an MPLA victory. *The SWP did not call for a victory by the FNLA or UNITA either.* We called for an end to the fratricidal civil war that was taking place between the three groups and for unity in their struggle against foreign imperialism.

Here is how Thomas summarized this position: "In our opinion, no political support ought to be given to any of these three nationalist groups. The victory of any one of the three offers no special promise of advancing the Angolan masses toward socialism or toward greater independence from imperialism. To impose the domination of one nationality over the other two nationalities offers no stable solution to the problems facing Angola and would only facilitate imperialist designs on the country."

Only fabrication can turn this into a position that calls for the destruction of the MPLA and support to imperialism.

Nevertheless, it is an important concern of the Kremlin's to deny that in Angola *three nationalities were warring against each other.*

## Nationalities

"The U.S. Trotskyites," says Bert, "describe the MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA as 'each . . . based on one of the country's three main ethnic groups.' 'Each of the three groups (represents) one of the three main nationalities' in Angola."

"Thus," Bert continues, "the anti-imperialism of the MPLA, and the pro-imperialism of the FNLA and UNITA are equally dissolved in ethnicity. . . ."

"The U.S. Trotskyites attempt to disguise their betrayal of the anti-imperialist struggle by translating it into theorizing about the 'national question.'"

What is actually disguised in Bert's argument is the reason the Angolan civil war was fought. In 1974-76 the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA, based on the Mbundu, Bakongo, and Ovimbundu peoples respectively, were locked in fratricidal combat to determine which

group would rule Angola with the impending withdrawal of Portugal.

In this war each of the groups sought the aid of imperialist powers. In fact, the MPLA sought to collaborate with the Portuguese colonial forces remaining in Angola against the FNLA and UNITA. The basic question for these nationalist movements was who would rule Angola.

Marxists unconditionally support nationalist movements in their struggle against imperialism. We do not support such movements insofar as they attempt to suppress the struggles of workers and peasants or attempt to oppress other nationalities.

## Stalinist view

The Stalinists try to make a mockery of the "national question" and pretend there aren't rival nationalist movements in Angola to justify Moscow's call for the MPLA victory. They want people to ignore the fact that this victory could mean the oppression of the Bakongo and Ovimbundu peoples. The MPLA has repeatedly proclaimed its opposition to the right of the Bakongos and Ovimbundus to secede if they so choose.

And this is not a new stance for Moscow. The Kremlin supports Iraq against Kurdish nationalism; it supported the formation of Israel against Palestinian nationalism; in the Soviet Union itself the Great Russian nationalism of Moscow oppresses all the other many nations within the USSR's boundaries.

The Stalinists also dismiss with ridicule the question of the character and program of the nationalist movements. They simply praise the MPLA as "progressive" and brand the FNLA and UNITA as "reactionary." Their aim is to hide the fact that the MPLA leadership is just as anti-working-class as are the leaderships of the other two groups. They try to cover up the MPLA's breaking of strikes, imposition of labor "discipline" and speedup, and attempts to crush any independent working-class formations and leaderships that arise.

It is precisely because none of the movements in Angola are led by working-class parties or conscious socialists that it cannot be excluded in advance that one or several of these

groups could become subordinate to a foreign imperialist power.

If the basic war had been between South Africa backed by the United States on one side and the MPLA on the other, as the Stalinists all but say in print, it would be entirely different. Revolutionists would have been duty bound to defend the MPLA against the imperialist invaders.

But the South African intervention, as dangerous as it was—and this was pointed out by the SWP—was not the overriding issue in Angola; it was the civil war for state power.

The SWP concluded, as we have already seen in Tony Thomas's remarks, that none of the three groups offered a superior perspective to the working masses over the others and that the wide-ranging civil war between them threatened to seriously weaken the anti-imperialist struggle.

## FNLA, UNITA

Once it is grasped that in Angola rival nationalities were locked in civil war, the question of imperialist aid to the FNLA and UNITA can be put in context. The Stalinists also try to lie about this.

"The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) did not invite foreign imperialist intervention. The National Liberation Front (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) did."

In fact, the MPLA sought aid in Washington before it turned to Moscow in 1964. And since its victory in the civil war, it has made repeated overtures to such U.S. companies as Gulf Oil, and even to the U.S. government.

Nevertheless, aid and direct involvement of imperialist troops are qualitatively different. Liberation movements have the right to get weapons from wherever they want. What is a dangerous error is to invite the direct intervention of foreign imperialist troops. The SWP always made its position clear on this point:

"The UNITA and FNLA must be condemned for blocking with the South Africans, just as the MPLA had to be condemned for collaborating with the Portuguese colonial army against the FNLA and UNITA," Thomas says in the report.

Bert's smear job sought to show a "parallel" not only between the SWP position and that of Henry Kissinger, but with "Maoist counterrevolution" as well. This second frame-up has as little basis in fact as the first. Peking, out of blind factionalism, brands the Soviet Union a "capitalist" country and labels Moscow's foreign policy "imperialism."

The Maoists placed equal blame on the Soviet Union and on American imperialism for intervening in the Angolan civil war (Peking acutely denounced Moscow as the *greatest* danger to Angolan independence).


The SWP considers the Soviet Union to be a workers state, *despite* the

*Continued on page 26*

## Angola

### The Hidden History of Washington's War

Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas



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# World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM  
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

APRIL 23, 1976

## Torture in Zimbabwe

## Widespread atrocities by white regime

Many hundreds of Africans in north-eastern Zimbabwe, an area of guerrilla activity, have been "routinely" tortured, according to a report released by Amnesty International in London March 29.

The report, based in part on the testimony of missionaries, scored the Smith regime's "refusal to establish an independent inquiry into allegations of atrocities committed by the Rhodesian security forces."

According to Amnesty International, the torture techniques used by the Rhodesian authorities include "beating on the body with fists and sticks, beating on the soles of the feet with sticks, and the application of electric shocks by means of electrodes or cattle goads. In addition, torture victims have been threatened with castration or immersed head first in barrels of water until unconscious."

Amnesty International also estimated that more than 700 Blacks are being detained without trial. Some of them have already spent ten years in prison. More than 500 additional political prisoners have been convicted on charges of belonging to a banned political organization or allegedly carrying out guerrilla actions.

In addition, more than sixty persons have been hanged, sometimes after

secret trials, since the white Rhodesian settlers unilaterally declared the country's "independence" from Britain in 1965. The death penalty is mandatory for conviction on charges of arson, participation in guerrilla attacks involving explosives, or of recruiting guerrillas. The death penalty may also be imposed for possessing arms, carrying out "terrorist" acts, or sheltering guerrillas.

Amnesty International examined another technique of repression widely used by the white supremacist regime: the forced resettlement of entire villages into barbed-wire-enclosed "protected villages." The civil-rights group estimated that between 100,000 and 300,000 Blacks have already been herded into these compounds. (Rhodesian officials recently admitted that between 175,000 and 200,000 have so far been resettled.)

One day before the Amnesty International report was released, another account of Rhodesian brutality and torture against suspected guerrilla supporters appeared in the March 28 *London Sunday Times*. Written by Don Waters, who was an English school inspector for five years with the Rhodesian Ministry of African Education, the account described the "interrogation" methods employed by the

police and military against Black teachers and students in the Mtoko area in northeastern Zimbabwe.

S. Tauya, acting headmaster of Masarakufa school, told Waters that on September 22, 1975, all the pupils and six Black teachers were ordered by three white soldiers to go to an interrogation area. "Mr Tauya, the first teacher to be questioned, was taken some distance away near a hut," Waters reported. "He was asked if he had seen any terrorists or strange men the previous day. When he said he had not, he was accused of lying and assaulted for some minutes by the

soldiers—one with a heavy stick and the other with a whip. According to Mr Tauya, some of the boys as well as the teachers were beaten."

Waters also quoted the story of Mr. Njagu, a teacher at Madimutsa school. "I was asked what I knew of the movements of terrorists in the area," Njagu said. "I said I knew nothing but they said I was lying. . . . I was told to take off all my clothes and I was tied to a tree with my hands behind my back. One of the Europeans cut a stick and lashed me across the back while he demanded information. . . ."

The district commissioner of Mudzi, a Mr. Collett, tried to justify this practice to Waters. "You must realise there's another side to this problem," Collett said. "You see, all Africans, including teachers, are such accomplished liars that if you're fairly sure someone has some information the only way to get it is to beat it out of him."

## Namibia

## Six SWAPO members on trial

Six members of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) are on trial in Namibia (South-West Africa) on charges under the Terrorism Act. All are accused of having taken part in "terrorist activities" aimed at "overthrowing the lawful administration."

The six defendants—three men and three women—are Aaron Muchimba, Andreas Nangolo, Hendrik Shikongo, Rauna Namibinga, Naimi Nombowo, and Anna Ngaihondjwa.

The case against the six is part of a broader South African campaign to crush the Namibian independence

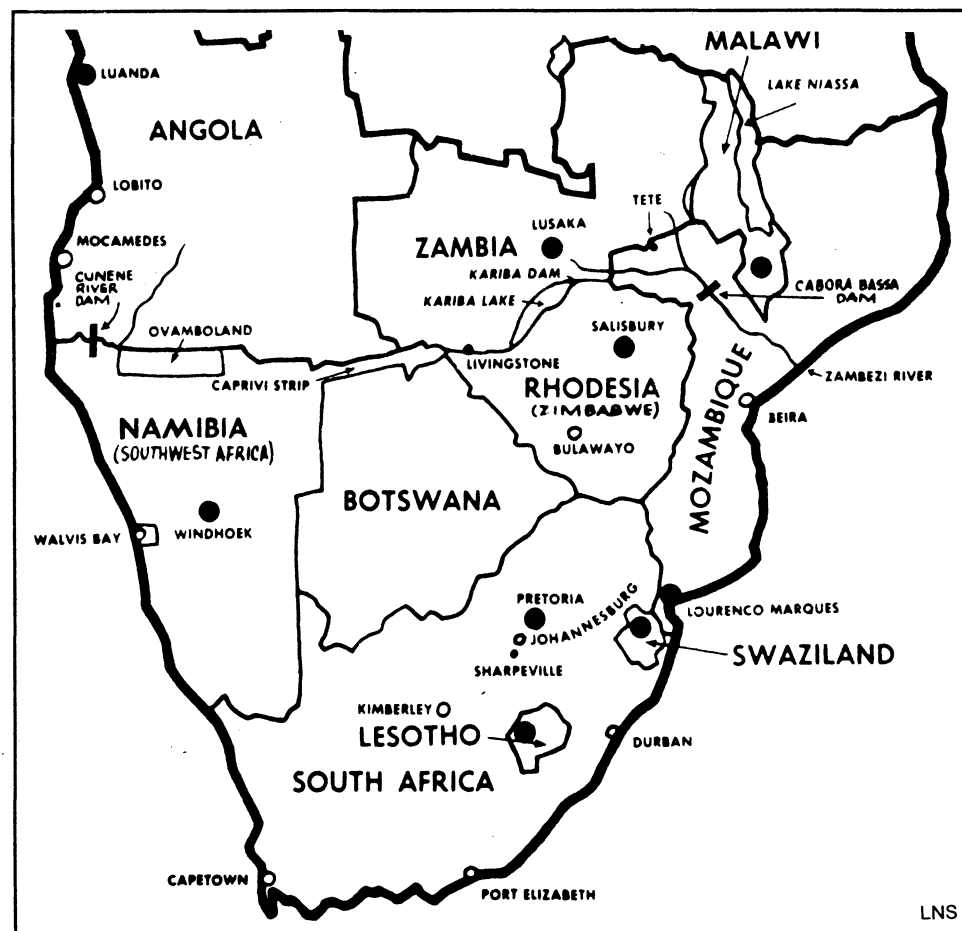
forces. The Pretoria regime, which has substantial investments in Namibia, administers the territory in violation of United Nations resolutions and in defiance of the wishes of the country's Black population.

In mid-1975, South African forces escalated counterinsurgency operations against SWAPO guerrillas, who were operating from bases in southern Angola. At the same time, they launched a program of forced resettlement in the densely populated areas of northern Namibia in an attempt to isolate the guerrillas from their supporters.

Using the August 16, 1975, assassination of Ovamboland Chief Minister Filemon Elifas as a pretext, South African authorities also arrested about 200 leaders, members, and sympathizers of SWAPO and of the Namibia National Convention. Although SWAPO is severely harassed by the authorities, it is still officially a legal party.

Many of the Namibian political prisoners were subsequently released. Some of them told of being beaten, tortured, or mistreated while they were in jail. In addition to the six defendants now on trial, two other SWAPO leaders, Sam Shivute and Ruben Hauwanga, are still in prison.

The trial of the six began in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, on December 1, 1975. Of the six, Shikongo is the only one charged with involvement in the assassination of Elifas. He is



alleged to have provided transport for the assassins. If convicted, he faces a possible death sentence.

Muchimba and Nangolo are charged with having given money, a radio, and a landrover to persons opposed to the white regime. The three women are each accused of having given 10 rand (US\$11.55) to antigovernment groups.

During the preliminary hearing in December, the six were asked by presiding Judge-President F. H. Badenhorst if they had any complaints concerning their detention conditions. All said they had been beaten by the police and given bad food.

During the two days of the December hearings, 200 persons picketed the court, singing SWAPO freedom songs and carrying placards with such slogans as: "We suffer for a free united Namibia." The protests were cited by the judge as a reason for transferring

the trial to Swakopmund. The trial was then adjourned until February 16.

The September-December 1975 issue of *Namibia News*, published by SWAPO, declared: "Every effort must be made to put pressure on the South African regime for the release of all Namibian political prisoners and detainees. We appeal to our sympathisers in the international community to protest to the South African Government against the imprisonment and detention of SWAPO members and supporters, and the continuing South African occupation of Namibia."

Messages and letters of protest should be sent to Prime Minister Vorster, State Buildings, Pretoria, South Africa. SWAPO has also asked that messages of solidarity be sent to the six defendants, addressed to SWAPO, P.O. Box 1071, Windhoek, South-West Africa.



## Part 1--Roots of anti-Semitism in tsarist Russia

### The oppression of Soviet Jews under Stalinism

[Beginning this week *World Outlook* is serializing an article from *Intercontinental Press* on the oppression of Soviet Jews. The article has been shortened for reasons of space.]

By David Frankel

Since the late 1960s there has been a growing movement of Jews inside the Soviet Union demanding the right to leave the country. The general response of the Stalinist rulers and their supporters has been to denounce those involved as a handful of malcontents and capitalist agents. They label charges that anti-Semitic practices are widespread in the USSR as Zionist slanders.

"Today this campaign has reached unbelievable depths of vilification, slander and outright fabrication," American Communist party theorist Hyman Lumer said in a typical article.<sup>1</sup> Lumer insisted that "in the socialist Soviet Union the Jewish question has been fully solved—a fact which it is most important for us to shout from the rooftops. . . ."

A more accurate view was given by historian William Korey, who said in the March 1972 *Slavic Review*:

Classical Marxism, in contrast to various forms of utopian socialism, anarchism, and syndicalism, treated anti-Semitism with utter contempt. The German Social Democratic leader August Bebel summed up the prevailing attitude of classical Marxism when he dubbed anti-Semitism the "socialism of fools." Lenin was even sharper in his denunciation: "Shame on those who foment hatred towards the Jews," he cried in March 1919. Yet fifty-five years after the Bolshevik Revolution the Soviet Union has become the principal exemplar of the "socialism of fools," with anti-Jewish discrimination practiced in various areas of politics and employment and in the ethnic-cultural field.<sup>2</sup>

1. Hyman Lumer, "Zionist Slander of a Great Achievement," *Daily World* (December 30, 1972).

How did this shift come about? What conclusions should be drawn from the record of the Soviet regime? Is the caricature of socialism to be seen under the Stalinist bureaucrats really the logical outcome of the Bolshevik revolution, as both Stalinists and capitalists claim?

Other questions are also posed. What is the relationship between the Zionist oppression of the Palestinian people and the movement of Soviet Jews demanding the right to emigrate from the USSR? What attitude should revolutionists take to the demand for freedom of emigration in light of this? What can be done to end the oppression of Jews in the USSR?

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to go back and look at the actual situation of the Jews under the tsars, under the Bolsheviks, and under Stalinism.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century more than half the Jewish population in the world lived in the Russian Empire as a result of its westward expansion under Catherine the Great.

The Great Russians were a minority in the Russian Empire, and the tsars followed a policy of forcible assimilation of the subject nationalities. They were particularly hostile to the Jews because tsarism leaned on the ideological prop of the Orthodox Church and its concept of "Holy Russia."

Furthermore, the traditional identification of the Jews with commerce enabled the tsarist rulers to use them as scapegoats for the economic problems caused by the decay of the old feudal system. The mass of the Jewish population was rapidly being converted into impoverished townspeople employed—if at all—as artisans or in small workshops. But a large enough percentage remained in their tradition-

2. William Korey, "The Origins and Development of Soviet Anti-Semitism: An Analysis," *Slavic Review* (March 1972), p. 111.

al economic role of middlemen to give the charge of Jewish profiteering some plausibility in the eyes of the peasantry.

#### Racism and pogroms

In 1804 the Jews were forbidden to settle in the central provinces of the Russian Empire. This was the origin of the infamous Pale of Settlement. Periodically new cities or provinces would be closed to Jewish residence, and entire Jewish populations forcibly uprooted and deported to the Pale.

Confinement in the Pale and discriminatory taxes helped to pauperize the Jewish population. In the realm of housing, for example, Jews in Kiev Province in the 1840s averaged one-third the living space of their Christian counterparts. By the end of the 1800s it was estimated that between 30 and 35 percent of the Jewish population of the Pale depended on charity provided by Jewish welfare institutions in order to live.

However, the pogrom, that hallmark of tsarist anti-Semitism, did not become a regular factor in Jewish life until the 1870s. The assassination of Tsar Alexander II in March 1881 ushered in the worst period of persecution against the Jews. This began with a wave of pogroms, mainly in the Ukraine, in the spring and summer of 1881.

In May 1882 Alexander III, the new tsar, prohibited Jews from settling outside of cities and towns even within the Pale of Settlement and from buying or leasing property located outside of cities and towns. In 1887 the infamous quota system was established. This specified that inside the Pale, where Jews comprised 30 to 80 percent of the urban population, they could be admitted to schools only so long as they did not exceed 10 percent of the student population. The quota beyond the Pale was 5 percent, and in the provincial capitals it was set at 3 percent.

The same year Jews were barred from governmental service and the legal professions. By the end of 1887 the tsarist legal code contained 650 laws specifically discriminating against Jews. Conditions for the Jewish population—estimated at about 5 percent of the total population of the Russian Empire—continued to worsen right up until the overthrow of the tsar in 1917. In 1901, for example, the quota for Jewish students was decreased to 7 percent inside the Pale, 3 percent outside of it, and 2 percent in the capitals.

#### Varied responses

Some Jews, especially among the wealthier layers of the population, attempted to solve their problem by assimilating into tsarist society. But the great majority of Jews reacted in other ways to the savage policy of the tsars.

The largest section simply retreated deeper into religious mysticism, while trying to survive as best they could.

Another sector of the Jewish population simply picked up and left. The pogroms of 1881, added to the already unbearable economic difficulties, unleashed a flood of Jewish emigration. Between 1881 and 1914 more than two million Jews left Russia.

Nevertheless, the Jewish population in the Pale continued to grow, and an



Tsar Nicholas II encouraged and helped organize pogroms following defeat of 1905 revolution.

increasing number of young Jews turned to the revolutionary movement.

The Narodnik, or populist, movement of the 1870s had been based almost entirely on the intelligentsia, particularly the student youth. The Jews did not play an especially big role in this movement. But the decision of the tsarist regime to blame the assassination of Alexander II on the Jews and to distract the attention of the masses with pogroms resulted in a change. When the revolutionary struggle began to revive in the 1890s, following the reaction of the previous decade, Jewish organizations and individuals were in the forefront.

The main organization in this radicalization was the Jewish Bund—the General Jewish Workers Union in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia.

As late as 1906 the Bund accounted for roughly one-third of the membership of the Russian Social Democratic Labor party. Lenin wrote in that year: "The membership of our Party is now over 100,000: 31,000 were represented at the Unity Congress, and then there are about 26,000 Polish Social-Democrats, about 14,000 Lettish and 33,000 Jewish Social-Democrats."<sup>3</sup> (By Jewish Social Democrats Lenin means members of the Bund; large numbers of Jews were active in local party organizations that were not affiliated with the Bund.)

#### Anti-Zionist youth

It is worth noting, in light of the Zionist claim that anti-Zionism is equivalent to anti-Semitism, that the Bund was adamantly anti-Zionist, as was the socialist movement as a whole. Even Chaim Weizmann, who later became the first president of Israel, had to admit after traveling through Russia in 1903 that the Jewish masses were turning to the revolutionary movement, and not to Zionism. He wrote to Theodore Herzl, the founder of the Zionist movement, describing the situation:

In general West European Jewry thinks that the majority of East European Jewish youth belongs to the Zionist camp. Unfortunately, the contrary is true. The lion's share of the youth is anti-Zionist, not from an

3. V.I. Lenin, *Lenin on the Jewish Question*, ed. Hyman Lumer (New York: International Publishers, 1974), p. 63.



Aftermath of a pogrom in Odessa

assimilationist point of view as in West Europe, but rather as a result of their revolutionary mood.<sup>4</sup>

The tsarist regime responded to the growing radicalization with the famous promise that it would "drown the revolution in Jewish blood." A new wave of pogroms began in Kishinev in April 1903. Printed leaflets were distributed throughout the city stating that a tsarist edict permitted the massacre of Jews during Easter, and police disarmed Jewish self-defense groups.

The pogrom as the defensive reflex of the old regime was "perfected" in response to the revolution of 1905. The organized defenders of tsarism—the "Black Hundreds"—issued the slogan "Attack the revolutionaries and the Jews!"

In his book *1905* Leon Trotsky describes in vivid detail the reaction of the tsarist authorities to the unsuccessful revolution:

Everyone knows about a coming pogrom in advance. Pogrom proclamations are distributed, bloodthirsty articles come out in the official Provincial Gazettes, sometimes a special newspaper begins to appear. The town governor of Odessa issues a provocative proclamation in his own name. . . .

A patriotic procession starts out, with the clergy in the front, with a portrait of the Tsar taken from police headquarters, with many national flags. A military band plays without cease. At the sides and at the rear of the procession march the police. The governor salutes, the police chief publicly embraces the leading members of the Black Hundreds. Churches along the way of the procession ring their bells. . . . The band never stops playing "God Save the Tsar," that hymn of the pogroms. . . .

The doss-house tramp is king. . . . Everything is allowed to him, he is capable of anything. . . . If he wants to, he can throw an old woman out of a third-floor window together with a grand piano, he can smash a chair against a baby's head, rape a little girl while the entire crowd looks on, hammer a nail into a living human body. . . . He exterminates whole families, he pours petrol over a house, transforms it into a mass of flames, and if anyone attempts to escape, he finishes him off with a cudgel. . . . He is capable of anything, he dares everything. God save the Tsar!<sup>5</sup>

Millions of roubles were diverted from government funds for the purpose of organizing pogroms, while the tsar exchanged friendly telegrams with the Black Hundred killers. The pogromist League of the Russian People was declared in a royal communique to be "the bulwark of the throne"—which it was.

### Liberal compromisers

Under such circumstances, it became increasingly clear that only the complete overthrow of the tsarist system could bring relief to the Jewish masses. The liberal bourgeoisie, organized in the Cadet (Constitutional Democratic) party rejected the idea of revolution, putting forward instead the hope of a gradual reform that would not endanger their own position.

In a 1906 article, Lenin described the Cadet position on the pogroms. The occasion was a parliamentary question (interpellation) on a pogrom in Bialystok. Lenin wrote:

. . . one has a deep feeling of dissatisfaction, of indignation at the irresolute terms in which the interpellation is worded.

. . . The authors of the interpellation say: "The inhabitants fear that the local authorities and malicious agitators may try to make out the victims themselves to be responsible for the calamity that has befallen them." Yes, the downtrodden and tormented Jewish population is indeed

apprehensive of this, and has every reason to be. This is true. But it is *not the whole truth*, gentlemen, members of the Duma [Russian parliament], and authors of the interpellation! You, the people's deputies, who have not yet been assaulted and tormented, know perfectly well that this is not the whole truth. You know that the downtrodden inhabitants will *not dare* to name those who are *really responsible* for the pogrom. *You must name them*. That is what you are people's deputies for. That is why you enjoy even under Russian law—*complete freedom of speech* in the Duma. Then don't stand *between* the reaction and the people, at a time when the armed reaction is strangling, massacring, and mutilating unarmed people. Take your stand *openly and entirely* on the side of the people. . . . Indict the government openly and publicly; as the *only* means of protection against pogroms.<sup>6</sup> (Emphasis in original.)

The contrast between the attitude of the liberals and the socialists was not limited to debates over what should be done in the Duma. When it came to action, the liberals abstained.

Trotsky said in his book *1905*:

No pogrom took place in Petersburg. But overt preparations for a pogrom went on at full strength. The Jewish population of the capital was in a state of constant dread. After the eighteenth [of October], students, worker agitators, and Jews were beaten up daily in different parts of the city. . . .

The workers made active preparations to defend their city. In certain cases whole plants undertook to go out into the streets at any threat of danger. . . . All plants and workshops having any access to iron or steel began, on their own initiative, to manufacture side-arms. Several thousand hammers were forging daggers, pikes, wire whips and knuckledusters.<sup>7</sup>

The workers did not stop there, however, as Trotsky describes. "Thanks to the united efforts of the typesetters, all purely pogrom literature was excluded from the private print shops, so that appeals to violate were now printed only in the department of police and the directorate of the gendarmerie, with the doors and shutters tightly closed, on hand-operated presses previously confiscated from the revolutionaries."

At the trial of the workers' deputies who had been elected to the Petersburg Soviet, Trotsky, in his speech before the court, did what the Cadet deputies in the Duma, with their parliamentary immunity, were afraid to do. He indicted the tsarist government and the tsar himself as the organizer of the pogroms, and produced evidence to that effect.

The debate between the capitalist liberals and the socialists over what road would lead to Jewish emancipation was accompanied by debates among the socialists themselves. The Bund, for example, sided with the reformist, or Menshevik, wing of the socialist movement against the Bolsheviks. Furthermore, it had disagreements with both Mensheviks and Bolsheviks on how to approach the struggle for national liberation.

### The February revolution

The overthrow of the tsar in February 1917 opened up immense possibilities for change. Change was what the oppressed masses wanted and were demanding, but the reformists struggled instead to preserve the capitalist system.

The Bund supported both the capitalist provisional government set up following the February revolution and the continuation of Russia's participation in World War I. This was not an abstract question to the Jewish people any more than it was to the soldiers

fighting in the trenches. In fact, in proportion to population there was a higher percentage of Jews in the Russian army than either Russians or Poles. Furthermore, the main theater of battle between the Austro-German and Russian forces was precisely the area covered by the Jewish Pale.

From 1914 until the end of 1917 the population of the Pale was subjected alternately to pogroms by the Russian troops or the exactions of the German occupation regime. On top of this, the tsarist bureaucracy treated the Jewish population as a security risk, and in late 1914 and the spring of 1915 deportations from strategic areas involving hundreds of thousands of persons were carried out.

The main favorable thing the Provisional Government did in regard to the Jews was to repeal the hundreds of discriminatory laws against them. Even in the area of formal legal equality, however, it was left to the Bolsheviks to declare the separation of church and state; the Kerensky regime and its predecessors had refused to end the privileged position of the Russian Orthodox Church.

As far as any positive program of action on behalf of the oppressed

lesser imitators all relied on anti-Semitic propaganda in fighting the Bolsheviks and carried out pogroms as a matter of course.

In August 1917 six of the Bolshevik party's twenty-one Central Committee members were of Jewish origin: Kameney, Sokolnikov, Sverdlov, Trotsky, Uritsky, and Zinoviev. The counterrevolutionary forces made the most of this fact. It is estimated that in the Ukraine alone more than 200,000 Jews were massacred in the course of the civil war.

It was the imperialist democracies of Britain, France, and the United States that armed and financed the pogromist armies. The attitude of the Bolsheviks, in contrast, was to wage uncompromising war against manifestations of anti-Semitism, no matter what quarter they came from.

James Parkes writes in *The Emergence of the Jewish Problem, 1878-1939* that although there were cases of attacks on Jews by units of the Red Army, "where the soldiers were caught they were severely punished. The Communists had from the first set their faces against antisemitism. . . ."<sup>8</sup>

In *Jews, Wars, and Communism*,



Bolshevik party under leadership of Lenin (addressing crowd) and Trotsky (at right edge of platform) was an uncompromising opponent of anti-Semitism.

nationalities, and the Jews in particular, the Provisional Government did nothing. Furthermore, overt anti-Semitism was rampant among the Cadets and the right wing of the Social Revolutionaries.

### A turning point in history

The Russian revolution of October 1917 was a turning point in human history—the first successful socialist revolution. Beside that event the inter-imperialist rivalries that led to World War I dwindle into insignificance. Millions saw the possibility of building a new society that would do away with exploitation and oppression.

Just as they had promised, the Bolsheviks carried out the program of distributing the land to the peasants and ending the slaughter in the trenches. However, the hopes for peaceful construction were dashed almost immediately. The new regime was plunged into a fight for its life.

If anything, the civil war between Whites and Reds was worse for the Jewish population than the imperialist war. The reactionary White armies picked up the fallen banner of tsarism. Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, and their

Zosa Szajkowski writes: "Considering the vicious antisemitism in East European countries—except Soviet Russia—it was a miracle that the entire Jewish populations in these countries had not become Communist. The example of Soviet Russia, a land where antisemitism was officially regarded a crime, was a tremendous propaganda factor. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

The Bolshevik attitude toward anti-Semitism was summed up in a proclamation of the Soviet government signed by Lenin on July 27, 1918:

The Council of People's Commissars instructs all Soviet deputies to take uncompromising measures to tear the anti-Semitic movement out by the roots. Pogromists and pogrom-agitators are to be placed outside the law.<sup>10</sup>

[To be continued]

4. Arie Bober, ed., *The Other Israel* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1972), p. 152.

5. Leon Trotsky, *1905* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), pp. 131-34.

6. Lenin, *Lenin on the Jewish Question*, pp. 59-60.

7. Trotsky, *1905*, pp. 137-38.

8. James Parkes, *The Emergence of the Jewish Problem, 1878-1939* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 175.

9. Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews, Wars, and Communism*, vol. 1 (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1972), p. xvii.

10. Lenin, *Lenin on the Jewish Question*, pp. 141-42.



## More 'democratic' generals?

# Stalinists play up to rightist Argentine junta

By Gerry Foley

In the days following the March 24 military coup in Argentina, readers of the tightly controlled Soviet press got an unusually vivid glimpse of the opportunist policies of international Stalinism.

The first report of the coup in the March 25 issue of *Izvestia* gave an accurate picture of the military takeover:

Strict censorship has been introduced. Special drumhead courts have been set up that will hand down sentences in accordance with the norms prevailing in the armed forces. In its decrees, the ruling junta has established penalties of death or long imprisonment for activity against the government of the armed forces. All meetings and demonstrations have been banned. . . .

The news agencies report that arrests of trade-union leaders and other prominent supporters of the ousted government have started. The military and police seized the offices of the Central Committee of the Argentine Communist party.

### Kremlin praises junta

Within days of the coup, the Argentine Communist party issued a statement congratulating the junta for "its respect for representative democracy, social justice, the reaffirmation of the state's role in controlling society, and the defense of the capacity for national decisiveness."

The Kremlin presents itself as the defender of Marxist principles in the world Communist movement. It has been quick to attack foreign CPs, as in France and Italy, for opportunism, for capitulating to bourgeois-democratic public opinion, when they have been forced for electoral reasons to criticize political repression in the Soviet Union. Surely Moscow should have been equally quick to denounce such rank opportunism, to say nothing of suicidal blindness, as that displayed by the small and already badly discredited Argentine CP.

After all, the Argentine CP has made "concessions" not only to bourgeois democracy. It allied itself openly with "democratic" imperialism against the nationalist movement led by Peron in 1945, and even backed the U.S. imperialist-sponsored military coup that drove Peron from power in 1955 in the name of "democracy."

However, in its March 27 issue, *Izvestia* ran a long summary from the Argentine CP statement with apparent approval.

### Stalinist shift

Although the CP supported the proimperialist opposition to Peron in 1945 and 1955, it shifted to Peron's side in 1973. When the old caudillo was rehabilitated by the imperialists and local capitalists as the best means of diverting and defusing the workers upsurge that had begun in 1969, the Stalinists rallied to his camp.

The Stalinists did not warn the workers that the national bourgeoisie was not in a position to give the kind of concessions it did during Peron's first presidency. They did not warn the workers that if they trusted Peron, their movement would be cut to pieces and all their gains and more would be taken away from them. Instead the

Stalinists did everything in their power to reinforce the workers' illusions in the "supreme commander of the Argentine race."

The first thing Peron did when he returned was to start a massive witch-hunt and campaign of extermination against the left wing of his own movement and in the trade unions. This was fully supported by the decisive sections of the Peronist bureaucracy in the labor movement and the bourgeois forces backing Peron. But the CP still says that all would have been well if it were not for some "ultrareactionary elements" around Isabelita and her Rasputin, the "witch doctor" Lopez Rega.

The Argentine Communist party, it seems, is quick to see the good in everyone, no matter how reactionary, and only makes modest demands that they overcome some weaknesses or bad sides. So, their statement that the country was in a "political, cultural, and moral" crisis seems almost to echo the justifications for the coup. They make only a mild request that the military saviors do not stop at overthrowing the rotten Peronist regime but go further in correcting things:

The military coup, the statement of the Argentine CP noted, was not the way to assure the solution of the problems facing the country. The crisis ripening in Argentina went much deeper than the short-lived, incompetent, and corrupt government. It touched the very social and economic structure of Argentine society, resting on two rotten pillars—on the domination of the latifundists and the international monopolists.

Other criticisms were raised such as the following:

The CP does not by any means support all the positions in the programmatic documents of the military junta or agree with all its actions. Thus, the CP statement described as a definite error the suspension of the activity of the democratic parties, inasmuch as they can and must participate in attempts to find a way out of the impasse that has developed.

### Failure to warn

Once again, the CP is not warning the workers that the bourgeoisie, in order to save its profits, is going to have to drastically reduce the standard of living of the masses and subject them to a brutal speedup and large-scale unemployment. It is not warning them that the only way the bourgeoisie can do this is by massive intimidation, by planting a military boot on their necks.

The Stalinists are even suggesting that the new regime may bring an end to the gang terror the Peronist government used against the left and militant sections of the labor movement.

The Argentine CP noted the "significance of the fact that the junta has rejected a solution on the Pinochet model, although there are forces that still want to push it onto that road."

Obviously, the Stalinists thought that the way to prevent the junta from taking Pinochet as their model was to get down on all fours and lick their jackboots:

Some of the goals proclaimed in the programmatic statements of the military junta correspond to a certain degree to the fundamental interests of the people. This



Argentine coup leader Lt. Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla. Stalinists hail junta's 'respect for representative democracy and social justice.'

applies above all to the promise to establish representative democracy based on the principle of social justice, to restore the rule of constitutional principles.

The American CP paper, the *Daily World*, perhaps the most servile of all the world Stalinist press, noted a point in the Argentine CP statement that even *Izvestia* left out. In its March 30 issue, the *Daily World* said:

The Argentine Communists said that all the nation's democratic and patriotic forces should be working closely together in order to translate all of the peoples hopes into reality. The CPA [Communist party of Argentina] thus will pave the way towards the establishment of a military and civilian government on a broad coalition basis. If the military junta is an interim stage on the way to setting up such a government as demanded by the people, then it can be said that a step has been taken in this direction, the Communist Party of Argentina said.

In other words, the coup might even be a blessing in disguise, a step toward setting up something like the "progressive" and "anti-imperialist" military junta in Peru or even the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal. The illusions the Stalinists have helped to foster with such propaganda about "progressive" military regimes have cost the working classes of those countries dear. Yet the Stalinists want to repeat the job in Argentina.

### No concessions

However, the Argentine junta's plans do not even include any partial or short-term concessions to the workers sufficient to allow the corrupt Peronist bureaucracy and other opportunist forces in the labor movement to maintain a position as intermediaries and serve as effective agents of the

military dictatorship.

The junta did not have to offer the CP much to get them to preach surrender. Just the possibility of negotiations was enough.

The military did not begin immediately massacring CP activists. They only shot a couple of them on the day of the coup in the party headquarters.

And they did not ban the CP outright, as they did the Trotskyists and some left splits from the CP that look to China as an alternative. They only suspended the CP, although for the moment at least that probably amounts to about the same as a ban.

In Argentina the lure of negotiations has already proved to be more of a trap than a chance to make even the most miserable deal. After the coup, the other left parties went underground immediately. The CP apparently continued to try to function in its offices, despite the unpleasant experience of the March 24 raid in which two CPers were gunned down. The leaders no doubt considered that the CP would be regarded as a basically respectable party, temporarily in eclipse, like, say, the free-trade Radical party of Ricardo Balbín.

As a result a number of CP activists were in the office of the party newspaper on March 30. In a dispatch the same day from Buenos Aires, *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis reported what happened:

"Hundreds of shots were fired by soldiers and policemen in civilian clothes in the raid on the offices of Nuestra Palabra, the weekly publication of the Communist Party. The building was occupied after 15 minutes of gunfire." Ten CP activists were arrested.



## Denies visa to Ernest Mandel

# State Dep't. bars Marxist scholar from U.S.

By Nancy Cole

The U.S. State Department has decided once again to wield its power to prevent Americans from hearing a point of view not in tune with the government's. Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel has been denied a visa to teach a quarter as guest professor at Stanford University in California.

On March 3, the U.S. embassy in Brussels rejected the requests of the Marxist scholar and his wife, Gisela Mandel. The denials were based on sections of a witch-hunting piece of legislation known as the McCarran-Walter Act, which bars those holding "communist" views from entering the country. A subsequent request for a waiver of ineligibility was finally denied during the first week in April.

Ernest Mandel is the author of the classic *Marxist Economic Theory*. This, along with others of his books, are extensively used as college textbooks in the United States. His latest work, *Late Capitalism*, was described by the April 1976 *Choice* magazine as "one of the major contributions of the last decade to Marxist economics."

Mandel had been invited to teach two classes at Stanford for the spring 1976 quarter: "Post World War II Boom and Its End" and "W. Europe Facing Depression and Fascism 1929-1939: France, Belgium, Spain and England."

The Stanford guest professorship program, organized and financed by the student government, also invited Angela Davis and radical psychologist Claude Steiner.

This is not the first time the U.S. government has chosen to bar Mandel from entering the country. In 1969 he was invited to debate John Kenneth Galbraith at Stanford University. This was to have been followed by a series

of engagements at universities and a public meeting at New York's Town Hall.

The McCarran-Walter Act was dredged up to keep him out, despite the fact that he had been granted entry in 1962 and 1968, during which visits he spoke at thirty universities.

The 1969 ban provoked an outcry of protest from American scholars and civil libertarians. In June 1970 eight

prominent professors joined Mandel in filing a lawsuit charging that the exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act are unconstitutional.

Two years later, after victory in a lower federal court, the Supreme Court upheld the act and Mandel's ban.

Yet last spring, when Mandel was invited to speak at a symposium at Cornell University, he was granted a limited visa solely for academic purposes. Mandel was unable to attend at the last minute because of personal reasons.

This governmental flip-flopping has led Stanford students to conclude that the government is "playing politics with our freedom," says Andrea Halliday of the university's student government.

It took a pressure campaign just to get the "no" answer on the waiver to begin with. Leonard Boudin, the attorney who handled the 1970 lawsuit on Mandel's behalf, contacted the State Department several times. The Stanford students pressed Sen. Alan Cranston and Rep. Paul McCloskey to apply some pressure. "They made repeated phone calls," according to Halliday.

Halliday told the *Militant* that the university administration, at the student government's urging, has requested that the State Department explain why the waiver was denied. "Once we get a clarification, we're going to press the university to protest the ban."



Militant/Brian Shannon

Mandel at New York University in 1968. Government is 'playing politics with our freedom,' charge Stanford University students who invited him as guest professor this year.

## 'Star' imposes layoffs, wage freeze

# New assault on Washington newspaper unions

By Jack Baldwin

WASHINGTON—Printers, truck drivers, commercial, editorial, and other union employees at the *Washington Star* newspaper have voted to surrender 218 jobs and accept a wage freeze after the publisher threatened to shut down the paper if the unions refused. There are 1,700 union workers at the afternoon daily.

The *Star's* ultimatum follows a major union defeat earlier this year at the rival *Washington Post*. The *Post* continued publishing despite a strike by ten newspaper craft unions and eventually replaced its press operators with permanent scabs, while the other crafts crossed the press operators' picket lines and returned to work.

Hardest hit by the new layoffs are the 272 members of the *Star* chapel of Columbia Typographical Union No. 101 (printers), who reluctantly voted by an undisclosed margin for a manage-

ment proposal to eliminate fifty jobs by April 25 and fifty more within eighteen months. The printers will be forced on a four-day workweek at four day's pay until 100 members have resigned or retired.

The company offered early retirement for those aged fifty-seven to sixty-two, with "buy-out" cash payments of up to \$18,000 depending on seniority.

The *Star* printers previously suffered layoffs when the cold-type printing process was introduced three years ago. In accepting the publisher's demands, they are voluntarily reopening their contract, which does not expire until 1979. The contracts of the other eleven unions at the *Star* expired last December.

The 550-member *Star* unit of the Newspaper Guild, which represents editorial and commercial employees,

voted 318 to 12 to accept thirty-seven layoffs by seniority and the wage freeze, to last for the rest of this year.

The guild had agreed in December 1974 to cut back to a four-day workweek as an alternative to layoffs. Guild officials then exhorted members to "produce in four days what you used to produce in five"—for 20 percent less pay.

But the workers' sacrifice did little to reverse the declining fortunes of the paper, which is said to be losing about one million dollars a month. Publisher Joe Allbritton, a Texas multimillionaire banker and entrepreneur, says the new cost-cutting measures will save him five to six million dollars a year.

Allbritton also owns a highly profitable Washington television and radio station, which he must divest by 1979 under Federal Communications Commission rules.

Union officials were given access to company books during joint sessions with management beginning in late March.

Delivery truck drivers, mailers, and other unions have also voted to accept proposals for smaller numbers of layoffs.

Local 6 of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union (press operators), however, has so far declined to put the layoff-wage freeze proposal to its members.

Officials of Local 6, the same union whose strike was broken at the *Washington Post*, are continuing to meet with management in the presence of federal mediators.

The *Star* press operators, who previously had conceded to company demands for work rule changes, are now being asked to give up about forty of their ninety-four remaining jobs.

## Strike by N.J. state college teachers averted

By Andy Farrand

NEWARK—Negotiations between the New Jersey American Federation of Teachers and the state college administration produced a tentative settlement March 24, shortly before a strike deadline.

Union balloting at the eight state colleges a few days earlier had authorized a strike by the narrow margin of 1,126 to 1,112.

Proposed cutbacks in the state college system have provoked demonstration, rallies, and teach-ins on many campuses, including a rally of 5,000 students and faculty in Trenton. The terms of the settlement represent a setback for both teachers and students in the fight against the cuts.

The tentative agreement provides for no increase in work load, canceling of 250 scheduled layoffs, a 7 percent wage increase for the 1976-77 school year and 5 percent the next year, and a \$250 across-the-board raise.

These gains, however, must be bal-

anced against a number of items given up by the union in negotiations. Most serious is that faculty will receive no regular salary increments for three years. In addition, whereas faculty members formerly received four teaching credits for every three graduate-level credit hours taught, they will now receive only three.

For many faculty members this will in effect mean an increased work load.

Also, release time for research and community service is all but abolished.

Not all issues are settled and as a result the agreement was neither written nor signed by the March 24 deadline. One major issue still unresolved is how layoffs from retrenchment—the phasing out of departments—will be handled.

The tentative agreement was approved by the union negotiating team with fourteen votes in favor, five against, and six abstentions.

Much dissatisfaction has been expressed among the ranks of the state

college AFT. A meeting of the Paterson State College local voted to recommend that the AFT membership reject the agreement.

Many AFTers feel that the agreement amounts to having the faculty pay for the state's financial problems—no increments in return for no layoffs. New Jersey newspapers have predicted that the settlement will set a trend of other state employees being asked to forgo wage increases to "save jobs."

Union members have pointed to two factors that helped pave the way for this settlement. One is the closeness of the strike vote. Second is the failure of the unions in New York City to fight the cutbacks there.

The capitulation by the Shanker leadership in New York's powerful United Federation of Teachers emboldened the state administration in New Jersey and weighed heavily upon the ranks of the much smaller AFT locals in the state colleges.

## 'FAREWELL TO MANZANAR'

Farewell to Manzanar. Film directed and produced for television by John Korty. Shown March 11 on NBC-TV.

*Farewell to Manzanar* is one of the first dramas aimed at a mass audience to depict a little-known event in American history, the evacuation and incarceration without trial of 112,000 people of Japanese ancestry, two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens, during World War II. Based on the book by Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and her husband, James Houston, it tells how Pearl Harbor disrupted the peaceful life of the Wakatsuki family.

Ko Wakatsuki, a Santa Monica fisherman, is arrested almost immediately by the FBI and jailed in Fort Lincoln, North Dakota, because his boat has a short-wave radio. His wife and children soon after are sent to a concentration camp at Manzanar, California, where deplorable sanitary and medical

### Television

facilities, Americanized food, and low wages lead to violent divisions among the camp's inmates over what to do.

Wakatsuki, his self-esteem and spirit broken by his term in jail, is finally reunited with his family only to become entangled in the controversy over whether the Japanese should swear loyalty to the country that had stripped them of their rights and imprisoned them. A particularly acute dilemma is posed to the Issei (Japanese immigrants), who are not allowed by law to become citizens of the United States and yet are asked to voluntarily relinquish their Japanese citizenship, thereby becoming stateless.

The movie is skillfully made and well acted by the Asian cast with a particularly superb performance by Yuki Shimoda as a complex Ko Wakatsuki. It is a refreshing change from the usual pablum of cops-and-robbers shows on TV, probably a result of a new interest in the history of oppressed national minorities in the United States aroused by their struggles for equality.

But, in spite of its great emotional impact, *Farewell to Manzanar* remains essentially a superficial Hollywood production that only skims the surface of the Japanese-American experience dur-

### SHAMEFUL RECORD

Among the publications that have commented on *Farewell to Manzanar* is the *People's World*, West Coast newspaper of the Communist party. Reviewer Karl Yoneda gave the film good marks, saying it would encourage people to "learn more about this shameful period of U.S. history."

It is unfortunate that Yoneda didn't use the occasion to acquaint his readers with the CP's despicable participation in the anti-Japanese witch-hunt, since he knows the story. In a 1972 resolution submitted to a CP convention, Yoneda reported:

"Immediately after Pearl Harbor . . . the Party suspended all Nisei from membership saying that 'the Party was the best place for Japanese fifth columnist to hide and we don't want to take any chances. . . .'" (Nisei are second-generation Japanese-Americans.)

The *People's World* at first gave cautious support to the concentration camps as "unfortunate, but vital." Soon, they were hailing internment as "a sensible program." This support was an integral part of the CP's policy of subordinating all struggles by Black, labor, and other groups to support for the Roosevelt administration and the U.S. imperialists' war effort. This is what Yoneda is trying to cover up.

One paper that doesn't need to cover its tracks is the *Militant*. In March 1942 we said the internment was "an indiscriminate and brutal witch-hunt . . . having the character of a racial pogrom." Today we say the same.



ing World War II. It fails to suggest any perspective on the causes of the mass evacuation of Japanese into concentration camps.

In the film the evacuation seems to be an irrational aberration. The history of persistent racist outrages directed against Asians in the United States and the racist agitation that culminated in the internment of the Japanese is avoided.

Almost from the moment that Japanese began arriving in large numbers in the United States at the turn of the century, they faced anti-Japanese agitation, inherited from fifty years of "anti-coolieism" previously aimed at the Chinese. The first anti-Japanese mass rally with its demand "The Japs must go!" took place in San Francisco on May 7, 1900.

Anti-Japanese groups were soon organized on the West Coast, and influential newspapers began in 1905 to agitate against the Japanese. Discriminatory laws were enacted preventing Japanese immigrants from buying or leasing land for agriculture, from living outside Little Tokyo ghettos, from becoming U.S. citizens, and finally from entering the country. Even after Japanese immigration was ended in 1924, the racist stereotypes generated by the Japanese-exclusion campaign remained firmly fixed in the public consciousness.

These stereotypes were reactivated after the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, with rumors of Japanese fifth-column activity in Hawaii. Nearly all West Coast papers printed racist attacks against Japanese, using the standard term "Jap" as well as epithets like "Nips," "mad dogs," and "yellow vermin."

Daily newspaper and radio incitement to racial violence was reflected in such headlines as "Jap Boat Flashes Message Ashore," "Jap and Camera Held in Bay City," "Vegetables Found Free of Poison," "Caps on Japanese Tomato Plants Point to Air Base."

None of these stories had any basis in fact; not even one case of sabotage by a Japanese was ever proven during the entire war. Ironically, the lack of sabotage was used to reinforce the Japanese spy stereotype as proof of their sly dishonesty. As then California Attorney General Earl Warren—later to become chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court—stated:

"I believe that we are just being lulled into a false sense of security and that the only reason we haven't had disaster in California is because it has been timed for a different date."

Signs stating "Jap Hunting Licenses Here Free!" began to appear in store windows. Some Japanese were beaten up and even killed in the first months of 1942. Anti-Japanese feelings were so intense that some Chinese in San Francisco wore big buttons proclaiming "I am Chinese."

This racist agitation peaked when President

Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. It empowered General John DeWitt to evacuate "any or all persons" from all "military areas." The evacuation of all persons of Japanese descent from the military area of the West Coast began on March 22, 1942.

The hysteria generated by the ruling class against the Japanese in World War II was used to justify the war and disguise its real nature. The war in the Pacific was essentially a conflict between two imperialist powers, Japan and the United States, for control of the natural resources and markets in the Far East.

In addition, the evacuation and internment of Japanese was the most flagrant example of a general policy of repression excused by the needs of war. Under the slogan of wartime unity, Roosevelt instituted a wage freeze, obtained "no-strike" pledges from union leaders, tried to persuade Blacks to stop their struggle against job discrimination, and curtailed civil rights and liberties.

By not establishing this context, *Farewell to Manzanar* fails to convey the almost total isolation of the Japanese; all whites are portrayed as nice, decent people who are sympathetic to the Japanese but helpless to prevent internment. But in reality, few organizations and individuals were able to withstand the pressures of this wartime jingoism.

The image of life in the concentration camps in the movie, while accurate in most of its details, fails to convey their essence as prisons. Inmates were crowded into standard army barracks that had been divided into individual apartments. Each family was assigned one room, offering little privacy. All kitchen, water, shower, and toilet facilities were communal.

Daily existence for the majority of evacuees who were not able to get temporary leave to study or to work as migratory, unskilled farm labor was above all monotonous and dull. This boredom combined with other frustrations to produce continual conflict among the evacuees.

This conflict is convincingly depicted in the movie, although its sources are obscure. The "riot" in the movie at Manzanar in 1942—when troops shot into a crowd, killing two Japanese and wounding ten others—was the most serious incident of violence in a series of protest rallies, demonstrations, work stoppages, and even general strikes at the ten camps.

*Farewell to Manzanar* should be applauded for dramatizing an important aspect of American history that has been too long avoided by the mass media. For a first effort to examine this experience, it is a good step in the right direction, although it is imbalanced by its glossiness. Hopefully, the door will now be open to future productions that will be able to treat the evacuation in greater depth.

—Patti Iiyama



## Teachers defend affirmative action

# NEA votes stand against discriminatory layoffs

By Nancy Cole

Recognizing that "American society has historically denied to women and members of minority groups" equal job opportunities, the National Education Association recently approved a plan to write affirmative-action provisions for hiring, promotion, and retention of teachers into its contracts.

The NEA is the first major labor organization to take an unequivocal stand that layoffs must not be allowed to decrease the percentage of women or minorities in jobs where they have traditionally been victims of discrimination.

The 1.8-million-member NEA, the second-largest union in the country,

For editorial on discriminatory layoffs in education, see page 10.

has been known for some time as a strong defender of affirmative action in education.

The new guidelines, adopted at the February 13-14 meeting of the NEA board of directors, propose specific contract language that all NEA affiliates are urged to use to safeguard the gains of affirmative-action hiring.

This is necessary, the NEA states, because "merely assuring the absence of discrimination in the future will not offset generations of disadvantage." Here is how the NEA resolution explains the need to modify seniority to provide for what it terms "affirmative retention":

"A school system which has recently adopted an affirmative action plan will have a substantially higher percentage of minorities and women among its most recently hired and promoted employees than among its more senior employees. If a layoff occurs, guided only by seniority, a disproportionate number of minorities and women will be affected.

"Accomplishments of an affirmative action plan, undertaken to eliminate the continuing effects of past discrimination, will be wiped out. The school district will have nothing to show for its efforts and the staff composition will once again suggest a lack of equal employment opportunity.

"The local association will appear to have sacrificed the principle of affirmative action to the tradition of seniority. To the individuals employed as a result of affirmative hiring and promotion, and to the community, the commitment to affirmative action will seem to have been less than sincere."

The NEA goes on to state: "Seniority and affirmative action appear to conflict, yet they are not irreconcilable. Protection for those recently hired or promoted affirmatively can be built into a seniority system as a partial exception."

The NEA's proposed contract language provides for multiple seniority lists for each professional level: classroom teachers, counselors, department heads, principals, and so on. There would be one seniority list for each group that has been underrepresented because of past discrimination, and one list for all other employees.

If layoffs occur, they are to be taken proportionately from all the lists so that the percentage of women and minorities remains the same.

This stand for genuine equality has provoked the ire of the NEA's rival, the 450,000-member American Federation of Teachers. The AFT officialdom, headed by Albert Shanker, condemns virtually all affirmative action as "reverse discrimination" that might jeopardize the older, white, better-paid teachers who form Shanker's main base of support.

In March Shanker led the New York State United Teachers, formerly affili-

ated with both the NEA and AFT, in a split from the NEA. A key reason Shanker gave for the split was the fear that NEA constitutional provisions for minority representation *within* the union would begin to be enforced in New York.

An article in the February 22 issue of Shanker's *New York Teacher* blasts the NEA policy statement as calling for "layoff by quotas." "What the document tells locals is NEA policy is that seniority be scrapped in favor of

minority 'guarantees,'" the article continues.

NEA leaders deny this assertion. "Those who say we are abandoning seniority are wrong," Robert Chanin told the *Militant*. Chanin is general counsel and deputy executive director of the NEA.

"We are still committed to seniority as a basic principle in layoffs. But we are also committed to affirmative action, and we have to make appropriate accommodations," he said.

## NY minority teachers axed

Discriminatory layoffs by strict seniority have decimated the ranks of Black and Puerto Rican teachers in New York City and threaten to recreate a virtually all-white teach-



ing force in a school system that is two-thirds Black and Puerto Rican.

So says a complaint filed with the federal Office of Civil Rights on behalf of a group of Black educators. Attorneys from the New York Civil Liberties Union and Williamsburg Legal Services are aiding the teachers.

They state that minority-group teachers have been reduced from 12 percent of the staff in 1973-74 to less than 5 percent today.

That means a reduction from 7,500 minority teachers to 2,500.

That means 5,000 of the 11,000 teachers laid off have been Black or Puerto Rican.

That means minority teachers have suffered 45 percent of the teacher layoffs in New York City.

The complaint charges that the board of education has "engaged in a widespread pattern of discriminatory hiring, seniority and layoff practices" and that its "employment of the smallest percentage of minority teachers of any major school system in the country creates an irrebuttable presumption of discrimination."

## 'Consent decree' fraud

# Black steelworkers fight bias in hiring and pay

By Bob Kissingner

BALTIMORE—Black steelworkers at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point mill are fighting to block a scheme that would cheat them out of just compensation for years of discrimination in hiring, promotion, and pay.

The scheme is the 1974 "consent decree" (a voluntary agreement with the force of a court order) between nine major steel companies and the United Steelworkers of America.

Under the decree, which was supposedly designed to end racist and sexist discrimination, the companies and the union accepted job guidelines approved by the United States Labor Department and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The employers also agreed to pay \$30.9 million to some 47,000 victims of past discrimination.

That works out, on the average, to less than \$700 for each worker.

At a March 9 hearing in federal court here, lawyers for the group of Black rank-and-file steelworkers at Sparrows Point asked for an injunction to block Bethlehem from mailing out these checks. The group had filed suit against the consent decree in March 1975. They say the workers are entitled to at least \$10,000 apiece.

The biggest catch, however, is that any worker who accepts the token back-pay check must sign a waiver giving up "any and all claim, known or unknown, which you have or may have against your employer or the United Steel Workers of America for any discrimination which might have been practiced against you before April 12, 1974, because of race, color, sex, or national origin."

In addition, this waiver includes any and all claim for damages suffered after April 12, 1974, from continued effects of discrimination before this date.

As Herbert Hill, national labor director of the NAACP, charged when the consent decree was first announced, "Through this agreement the major steel corporations and the Steelworkers union are attempting to buy immunity from litigation under Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

The consent decree was evidently designed to avoid the prospect of stronger antidiscrimination decisions. A few months earlier, in 1973, a federal court had awarded sixty-one workers at U.S. Steel's plant in Fairfield, Alabama, an average of \$4,100 for past discrimination.

The \$30.9 million price tag on the consent decree is actually quite modest, considering the superprofits the steel giants have reaped for decades by segregating Blacks into the worst jobs and paying them substandard wages. A former head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, William Brown, says the back pay should have amounted to some \$500 million.

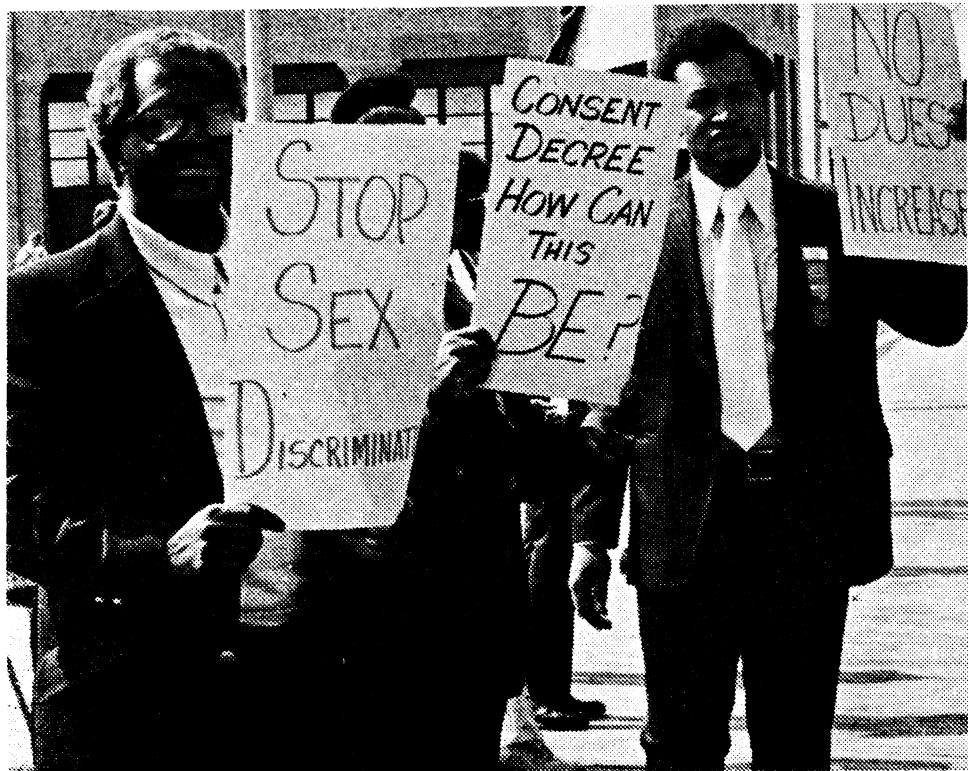
Coverage under the consent decree is severely restricted. Other national minorities, including Native American, Asian, and Arab workers, are excluded. Eligibility for Black and Latino male workers is limited to those hired before January 1, 1968, who have maintained continuous employment through the decree date.

The suit by the Sparrows Point steelworkers is also directed against the seniority system condoned by the consent decree, which, they charge, "locks all Black employees into racially discriminatory initial assignments forever."

The steel industry's departmental and unit seniority system was declared illegal in January 1973—almost a decade after passage of the Civil Rights Act. It was then replaced by a system called "permanent entitlement." At the time of the consent decree it was renamed the "incumbency" system.

Lawyers for the Black steelworkers say this "new" system is no different from the departmental and unit system. It results in further discrimination whenever layoffs take place.

Continued on page 26



Steelworkers demonstrate outside 1974 union convention in Atlantic City



# Calendar

## BERKELEY

**SENATE BILL #1: AN ATTACK ON THE BILL OF RIGHTS.** Speakers: Pam Ford, Berkeley-Albany chapter of American Civil Liberties Union; John Van Dyke, professor at Hastings Law School; Gail Wixson, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress. Fri., Apr. 23, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

## HOUSTON: SOUTH-CENTRAL

**GRAND OPENING, NEW SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS.** Meet Jill Fein, SWP candidate for Harris County Commissioner, Precinct 1, endorsed by Harris County Women's Political Caucus. Sat., Apr. 24, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. South Park Plaza (at OST), 4987 South Park Blvd. Ausp: Texas Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

## NEW YORK

**BENEFIT CONCERT FOR THE UNITED FARM WORKERS.** Main attraction: Melanie. Also: Richard Chávez. Scenes from documentary film *Fighting for Our Lives*. Thurs., Apr. 29, 7:30 p.m. Madison Square Garden, Felt Forum. Tickets: \$25, \$8, and \$6. Purchase at 331 W. 84th St. Ausp: A coalition of unions, churches, and community organizations. For more information call (212) 799-5800.

## PITTSBURGH

**STRATEGY FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.** A weekly discussion of socialism. *Labor's strategic line of march*. Sat., Apr. 24, 3 p.m. 416 Oakland Ave., Apt. 3F. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

## PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY, MD.

**WHY WE NEED A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR WORKING PEOPLE.** Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate. Thurs., Apr. 22, 8 p.m. Northwestern High School, 7000 block of Adelphi Road, Room 102, Hyattsville. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (301) 439-6966 or (202) 783-2391.

## RICHMOND, VA.

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Why we need a Bill of Rights for working people.** Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate. Mon., Apr. 19, 7:30 p.m. Rhoads Hall, multipurpose room, Virginia Commonwealth University. Ausp: VCU YSA. For more information call (804) 232-3769.

## ST. LOUIS

**NUCLEAR REACTORS: AN ACCIDENT WAITING TO HAPPEN.** Speakers: Bill Vaughan, Coalition for the Environment; Chris Kuehl, YSA. Fri., Apr. 23, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland Ave. Donation: \$1.

Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

**SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION DISTRICT RACISM IN SCHOOLS: FROM BOSTON TO SAN FRANCISCO.** A panel discussion. Fri., Apr. 23, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

## SEATTLE: CENTRAL AREA

**'THE LONGEST WAR.'** A CBS documentary film on Wounded Knee. Speaker: Ellen Moves Camp, member of American Indian Movement. Fri., Apr. 23, 8 p.m. 2200 E. Union. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 329-7404.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate; Anton Wood, member of D.C. Statehood party; Laura Rogers, member of George Washington Students for ERA; others. Tues., Apr. 20, 7 p.m., refreshments; 8 p.m., rally. All Souls Church, 16th St. and Harvard NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: D.C. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 347-1317.

# ...China

*Continued from page 16*

the purpose of the provocation? If it was intended to bring discredit on an opposition grouping, then it must be concluded that an opposition does exist and that it is big enough to cause concern to Mao.

Third, if a provocation was involved, it seems to have touched off a much more explosive reaction than was calculated. This can be explained only on the basis of the existence of issues widely felt by the masses. As in the Soviet Union, these may extend from the standard of living and working conditions to hatred of the bureaucracy and strong feelings for the right to express political dissidence.

If no provocation was involved, the demonstrations around the placing of wreaths in honor of Chou En-lai are all the more significant. They would testify to the existence of an opposition, whatever its political coloration, that is sufficiently organized to begin

appealing directly to the masses with good chances for a favorable response.

Whichever alternative proves to be correct, it is clear that the internal cohesiveness of the Chinese bureaucratic ruling caste is not as strong as the Maoist propagandists would have us believe and that the masses may be readier than expected to step in at an opportune moment to impose *their* solution to the acute problems faced at this stage by the Chinese revolution.

# ...Angola

*Continued from page 18*

conservative bureaucratic caste that now wields power in Moscow. The U.S. capitalists seek the economic enslavement of the peoples of the colonial and semicolonial world, including Angola. The Soviet Union, as deplorable as its policies may be, had no such aim. It is criminally disorienting to the national liberation fighters to place these two regimes on the same plane. Tony Thomas explicitly opposed Peking's demand for Soviet withdrawal from Angola on these very grounds:

"If the Soviet Union stopped sending weapons to the MPLA, would that be a step forward for the Angolan revolution? No. It would embolden imperialism!"

Bert read these words. His lame retort to make his frame-up amalgam stick together was that the SWP's criticism of Maoism "is hypocritical in the extreme, for the cancerous soul of Trotskyism itself is anti-Sovietism."

What this boils down to is not any imaginary similarity between the positions of the SWP and those of Maoism, but apologist Bert's horror of any opposition whatsoever, on any grounds, to the Kremlin's opportunist line on Angola.

The SWP led in the attempt to mobilize forces in the United States to support the struggle of the Angolan nationalist movements against U.S.

imperialism and its South African ally. But we stand against the oppression of workers and peasants by these same nationalist movements and we do not accept their attempt to oppress other nationalities. The Kremlin's hoopla about the MPLA should not blind serious supporters of African liberation to these realities of the Angolan situation.

# ...steel

*Continued from page 25*

"Under this job transfer system," the suit explains, "any employee who transfers to any other department or unit is required to forfeit his seniority and start work in the department or unit transferred to as the most junior employee. When a reduction in the work force takes place in one unit, it does so without regard to the seniority of the employees of any other department or unit."

The suit further points out: "Reductions in the work force have traditionally taken place first in the departments and units that blacks have been assigned to work in."

Thus, what the steel profiteers are really trying to buy with their \$30.9 million is permission to keep the essence of past discrimination, camouflaged under a new name. Black steelworkers here, who have been fighting for a decade for some redress of their grievances, are not about to accept that.

## Correction

In the article "Protests halt gov't hanging of Black rebel in Dominica," published in our April 16 issue, it was erroneously reported that Charles Roach represented the National Conference of Black Lawyers on a delegation that appealed for a commutation of Desmond Trotter's death sentence. The lawyers group was represented by Victor Good.

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NOW AVAILABLE



ROY MEDVEDEV is the author of *Let History Judge* (Macmillan, 1972), a comprehensive history of the Stalin era. This distinguished historian stands out among the intellectual opposition by being an avowed Marxist and a staunch Communist who aspires to revive the program of Lenin in the struggle for a socialist democracy. He seeks to democratize the Soviet Communist Party through initiatives "from above" (by the party and government), supported "from below" (by the masses) through constitutional means. His specific proposals have been set forth in his recent work, *On Socialist Democracy*. His initiating and concluding essays set the framework for the other contributors to this volume.

# A discussion with Roy Medvedev Détente & Socialist Democracy

*What effect will détente between East and West have upon democratic rights in the Soviet Union?*

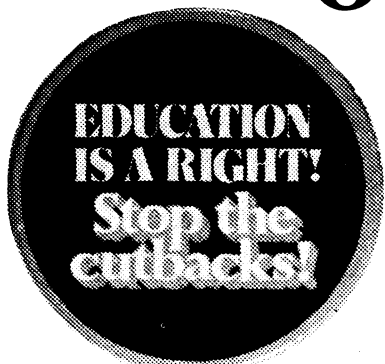
Nixon's visit to Brezhnev in May 1972 touched off intense controversy among Soviet dissenters on the merits and drawbacks of détente. At the end of 1973 Roy Medvedev wrote an essay, circulated in *samizdat* (unofficially) in the USSR, evaluating détente, inviting members of the Western Left to enter the debate on the problems of civil liberties in the Soviet bloc, and promising to reply to them. Representatives of various anti-Stalinist socialist tendencies contributed to the exchange, here published under the title *Détente and Socialist Democracy*.

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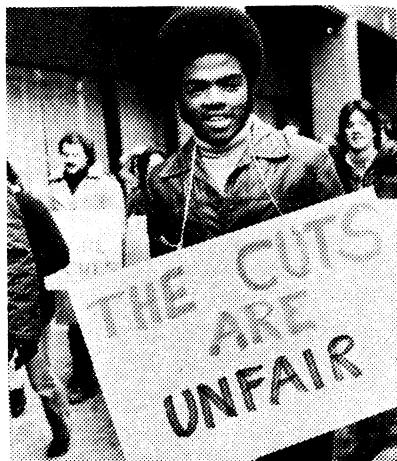


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Farrell Dobbs

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NEW YORK CITY

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## SF rally: 'Freedom for Dennis Banks!'

By Jeff Powers

SAN FRANCISCO—"I will never forget this day," said American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks. "The memory of it will stay with me for the rest of my life."

Banks was speaking to a rally of more than 2,000 people who had come to San Francisco to protest Banks's threatened extradition to South Dakota. Banks is wanted by that state since he failed to show up for sentencing last summer after being convicted of trumped-up rioting charges.

Banks's whereabouts were unknown until he was arrested in January by thirty-five heavily armed FBI agents at the home of Lehman Brightman, a Native American studies teacher at a college in the San Francisco area. Brightman was charged with harboring a fugitive, but these charges were later dropped.

The April 3 demonstration had been planned for several weeks. Some 50,000 leaflets and posters had been distributed, and contingents came from as far away as Montana, Minnesota, and South Dakota.

Organizers say the turnout exceeded their expectations—despite a steady rainfall the entire morning of the rally and the municipal employees' strike that has crippled public transportation in this city.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Banks/Brightman Defense Committee, American Indian Movement, United Native Americans, and the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Among the individuals and organizations endorsing the action were U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.); Socialist Workers party; Tom Hayden for Senate Committee; Berkeley Federation of Teachers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1695; National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repres-



Militant/Ron Payne

Thousands at April 3 rally protest plans to extradite American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks to South Dakota

sion; Associated Students of the University of California; California State MECHA; League of United Latin American Citizens; and Stanford American Indian Organization.

Lehman Brightman chaired the rally and said it was "the largest single gathering for an Indian ever held in California."

Speakers included Attorney William Kunstler; Jim Jones of the Peoples Temple; Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks Local 1100; Manuel Lorez of the League of United Latin American Citizens; John Maher of the Delancey Street Foundation; Ray Gonzalez of the San Jose Danny Treviño Defense Committee; Corky Gonzales of the Denver Crusade for Justice; North Dakota State Sen. Pamela Holland; Rashaad Ali of the Student Coalition Against Racism; Willie Mae Reid, vice-

presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party; Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement; and Dennis Banks.

Holland told the crowd, "In South Dakota, a rally like this would be condemned by every elected official."

"We need this kind of protest in the Dakotas," she added, and promised that "I will start one when I get home."

Ali said, "Tomorrow marks the assassination of Martin Luther King. I know that if he was alive today, he would be here marching with us."

Reid told the participants that they "had accomplished important tasks. This rally represents the sentiment of the majority of people in this country."

She promised to "use all the resources of my campaign to build support for Dennis Banks."

Banks was the last speaker. He introduced to the audience Russell Redner, Kenneth Loudhawk, and Kamook Banks, who—along with Dennis Banks—face federal firearms charges stemming from an alleged shooting incident in Oregon last November.

Dennis Banks said, "I want to honor Lee Brightman because he gave me sanctuary when I needed it. What I have found since I have come to California is that 750,000 more people are willing to do the same."

Banks was referring to the number of people who had signed petitions addressed to the California governor asking that Banks not be sent back to South Dakota.

"I am going to carry out this sanctuary fight. People are sick and tired of there being no justice for Native American people."

## 32 arrested at Hostos

## NY moves to close bilingual college

By José Pérez

Thirty-two students and teachers were arrested by New York City cops April 12 at the main building of Hostos Community College in the South Bronx.

The building had been occupied by demonstrators since March 25, when more than 500 people, organized by the Community Coalition to Save Hostos, had taken over the facility as a protest against the city's plan to close down the school.

Hostos is unique among the twenty colleges of the city university system. It is the only bilingual college on the East Coast of the United States, and possibly the only public bilingual college in the country.

It opened its doors in 1970, as a by-product of the successful open-admissions struggle waged by Black and Puerto Rican students a year

earlier. It was named after Eugenio Maria de Hostos, an outstanding leader of the Puerto Rican independence movement in the late 1800s.

Hostos is the first college in the City University of New York designed to serve the needs of a ghetto—the South Bronx, an impoverished Puerto Rican neighborhood.

More than 90 percent of the students are Blacks, Puerto Ricans, or other minorities—the highest percentage of any CUNY campus. More than half the students are over twenty-five years old, and most had been out of school for at least ten years before coming to Hostos.

About half of the 2,600 students are enrolled in special courses teaching English as a second language. In addition, more than sixty classes—ranging from calculus to psychology—are conducted in Spanish, so that

students do not have to postpone their education until they can handle the subject in English.

Puerto Rican educators say that Hostos is uniquely geared to the needs of the community. To close Hostos, one group said, "would literally ostracize the Puerto Rican community from the CUNY structure."

Last fall, when the city government began implementing savage cuts in education and other social services, word began going around that Hostos was going to be closed.

In February, CUNY Chancellor Robert Kibbee put forward the proposal officially. It is part of a broader plan that includes ending open admissions and imposing stiffer standards for remaining in school. In effect, Kibbee proposed purging minority students from CUNY.

The board of higher education

moved cautiously, reacting to repeated demonstrations by students and teachers against any cutbacks or layoffs. Finally, on April 5 the board adopted the Kibbee proposal, and officials said even more drastic cuts were coming.

The April 12 arrests at Hostos were carefully timed to minimize student response, coinciding with the first day of Easter vacation. Nevertheless, 200 people gathered as cops were forcing their way inside the building. The crowd then followed the police to a nearby courthouse where those arrested were taken.

The thirty-two who were taken from the building were charged with criminal trespass and released. They joined the protest outside the courthouse.

Students said that protests would continue despite the arrests. "I am defending my education," one said. "I will continue to fight to save Hostos."